

# AMERICA

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## Catholic France In War and Peace

JEAN MINERY

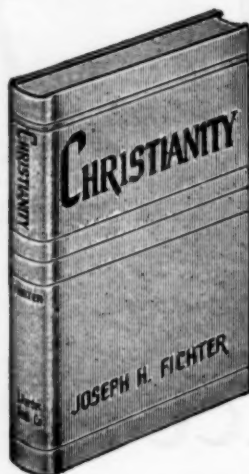
## The Radicals And Their Reveille

EDWARD DUFF



- Catholics and Austrian Political Life . . . *Hans Pittioni*  
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# COMMENT ON THE WEEK

**Pauley on Manchuria.** On June 17 the United States Reparations Mission, headed by Edwin Pauley, submitted a preliminary report on Manchuria. The detailed and precise report reveals the extent of the damage done to Manchuria by the Soviet program of wholesale stripping and looting of industrial equipment. In the brutal tradition of Genghis Khan, with no previous consultation, with no authorization but its own, the Soviet seized and carried off to Russia invaluable machine-tools and electrical equipment, the loss of which will reduce China's economy to the point of ruin. In the face of such barbarous banditry, the old plaint, "how can you deal with the Soviets?" begins to sound like the last word. Mr. Pauley's own comment on the report was most reserved: "From what I have seen, I do not think the Soviet Government made exactly a gesture of good will toward China or other Allied Nations."

**China in Travail.** Honors and dishonors are divided in the Chinese civil war. The Nationalist Government, dominated by the Kuomintang Party and led by Chiang Kai-shek, has the stronger legal argument. By the terms of the Sino-Soviet treaty of last August, fortified by the truce-agreement with the Communists on January 10, Chiang's forces alone are empowered to take over Manchurian cities vacated by Soviet occupation troops. However, this is not the whole picture. Concurrent with the January agreement was the establishment of the Political Consultative Council, a body composed of all Chinese parties and dedicated to the task of preparing an interim coalition government and arranging for a Constitutional Assembly, originally scheduled for May 5. Very early in these negotiations the smaller parties, particularly the Communists and the Democratic League, charged that the Kuomintang was adamant in its determination to retain its privileged position. Finally, in early April, the Communists began moving troops into Manchuria on the plea that they could not regard themselves as bound by the January 10 truce-agreement in view of the refusal by the Kuomintang to give real assurance of their intention to form a justly balanced coalition government. General Marshall is renewing his effort to bring peace, but this time his attempt is encountering more resistance from the Communists, who accuse the U. S. of unjustly favoring the Kuomintang.

**Democracy in the East.** In its forms and customs every democracy known to history has been the cumulative product of years, even centuries, of arduous and painful effort, of trial and error, and of final achievement that is never more final than the determination and ability of its citizens. With history's lessons before us, reinforced by common sense, we should not expect too much, just yet, from "democracy" in China or India. India, for instance, except in the rough outline of geography and by grace of a British-built economic system, is not even one country. Its two main religious divisions—Moslem in the north and Hindu in the center and south—divide power between them, and each frankly regards democracy's forms as potential instruments for gaining sway at the expense of its rival. The Moslems, because of their inferior numbers, have been plumping for Pakistan, a separate Moslem state. To wean them from this view, the Viceroy promised them representation in the new interim government on a basis of parity. Now, it seems, the Hindu Congress won't play. The Soviets, overlooking no bets, have meanwhile concluded a treaty with Afghanistan—gateway of the conquerors of India.

## THIS WEEK

COMMENT ON THE WEEK.....	261
Washington Front.....	Wilfrid Parsons 265
Underscorings.....	A. P. F. 265
ARTICLES	
Catholic France in War	
and Peace.....	Jean Minéry, S.J. 266
The Radicals and Their	
Reveille .....	Edward Duff 268
Catholics and Austrian	
Political Life.....	Hans Pittioni 271
Goals for Agriculture.....	William J. Gibbons 272
EDITORIALS .....	274
Atomic Control . . . Amend Federal-Aid Bill . . .	
De-Controlling Prices . . . Our Moral Leadership	
. . . Aid for the Homeless	
LITERATURE AND ART.....	277
Eliot and Maritain.....	Michael F. Moloney
BOOKS .....	REVIEWED BY
Alexander Hamilton.....	F. J. Gallagher 279
Alexander of Macedon . . .	J. Nicholas Shriver, Jr. 279
The Playwright as Thinker....	Theophilus Lewis 280
THEATRE .....	FILMS.....PARADE 284
CORRESPONDENCE.....	THE WORD 287



**Palestine Crisis.** Anti-British outbreaks by extremist elements in Palestine and corresponding repressive measures by the military are fast turning the Holy Land into a battleground. The situation has not been helped by the fact that for so long a time no definite word on the Anglo-American Report was forthcoming from the Foreign Office. Rightly or wrongly, Palestine Zionists have interpreted this as premeditated delay and the prelude to further temporizing measures. Mr. Bevin's unhappy remark at Bournemouth certainly did not help matters, even though the interpretations put upon it were much exaggerated. The profoundly anti-British attitude of the more extreme and nationalist Jews is rapidly becoming an obstacle to any intelligent solution of the Palestine problem. The Anglo-American Report needs serious consideration. Moreover, time is required to achieve its full implementation, together with Arab acceptance. By concentrating on the recommendation that 100,000 refugees be admitted at once and neglecting to take into account the problems this involves for the British, the Jews of Palestine run the risk of losing many other gains thus far made. Whatever the past sins of the British Foreign Office—and Mr. Bevin is hardly to blame for them—it should not be forgotten that the British have the responsibility of keeping peace and order in Palestine. They aren't getting much assistance from either Zionists or Arabs.

**Arabs Must be Considered.** Should the Zionists insist on pushing their side—justifiable as many of their claims may be—they can only expect armed resistance from the Arabs. If one side prepares to fight and resorts to force, the opponent can hardly be expected to keep the peace. The possibility that the Grand Mufti—never known for his loyalty to the Allied cause or for acceptance of a non-Arab Palestinian state—may be back to lead his faithful followers bodes ill for peace in the Middle East. The Arab world already is in a state of turmoil and social unrest. Old patterns are changing, and the possibility of conflict cannot be ignored. While physical strength

and industrial potential are low, the desire for autonomy and self-determination, based on nationalist lines, is strong. Russia's attitude toward the Arab aspirations is not clear. Needless to say, her own anti-British policy and her tendency to exploit unrest wherever it occurs make it seem likely that the Kremlin will side with the Arabs. Already there have been delegations. Despite, or perhaps because of, the outdated Arab social structure, communist doctrines are not without a foothold. The fact that the Grand Mufti was Hitler's adviser on Arab affairs during the war years in no way indicates how Russia will react toward possible conflict in the Middle East. Already the Yugoslav Government has declared him no war criminal. Molotov's friendship for Hitler also deserves remembrance.

**Food Outlook—1947.** If you still have any illusions that food problems will clear up with 1946 crops, prepare to put them aside. Even should this year's harvests surpass expectations, hunger and famine will stalk the world through the winter of 1946-47. Wheat continues to be one of the most urgent needs. Import requirements for the 1946-47 crop-year are now estimated by FAO at 30 million tons (1 billion bushels), whereas available wheat exports will scarcely exceed 20 million tons. Wheat, while the most basic food, is but one of the important foods in short supply. Meat and fats are very scarce and, with grains being diverted to human food, the possibility of increasing the number of food-animals is definitely limited. Other vital foods, especially milk and milk-products for children, cannot possibly be supplied in the quantities needed. The percentage of deficit between estimated requirements and probable supplies is greater for all foods together than for wheat alone.

**Aid to the Hungry.** The world food picture is desolate, and the human misery it portrays heart-rending. To make the outlook less gloomy there are several things Americans can do: 1) conserve every possible scrap of food, and modify their eating habits with respect to foods in short supply; 2) continue to give generously of funds and food to relief agencies; 3) plant and care for large Victory Gardens and prepare now to preserve foods at home for winter use; 4) demand the restoration of rationing and the retention of price controls—modified where necessary but still effective—over basic foods. It is time to admit frankly that the method of procrastinating and letting things take their course definitely does not work. Adequate planning on all levels, from the inter-

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national to the domestic, is now imperative. Those who believe that human rights come first—among which the right to necessary food ranks high—must make themselves heard. Worldwide full production of food is essential, and it's not going to be achieved by chanting "free enterprise" and promoting an agricultural economy of scarcity and high prices.

**On a Threshold.** A unique study conference was held from June 6-16 at Ridgely Manor, the lovely country estate of Mrs. Frances H. Leggett in Stone Ridge, N. Y. Its purpose was to prepare a group of graduate students for participation in two important international student conferences this summer—one in Prague, the other in Fribourg. The project was initiated at the instance of Archbishop Cushing, Episcopal Chairman of the Youth Department of the NCWC, and of Father Charles E. Bermingham, Director of the Youth Department. The selection and training of the delegates was committed to Father John Courtney Murray, S.J., Editor of *Theological Studies*. In all, thirteen graduate students attended the conference—the four Prague delegates, the five Fribourg delegates, and four associates. Due to pressure of time, their selection had to be made without nationwide publicity; the decisive standards were language qualifications, some geographical distribution, and availability for future work. Represented were Catholic University and Georgetown University, Fordham University, Columbia University and the University of Notre Dame. In its first phase, the Ridgely Manor conference studied the problems presented by the Prague meeting, at which it is expected that Communists will make a strong effort to seize control of the new International Student Federation which that meeting will set up. In the second phase, the conference considered the agenda of the Fribourg Congress of Pax Romana and the simultaneous international meeting of the *Jeunesse Etudiante Chrétienne*. In its third phase, the conference discussed plans for the continuing collaboration of American students in the international student movement (both Catholic and secular), and for the development of university Catholic Action in the U.S. The conferees were assisted by eight distinguished experts, who came for lectures, discussion and consultation. Their work was done in ideal surroundings, and within a spiritual and liturgical framework. It is hoped that the Ridgely Manor conference, small in itself but wide in its implications, will mark the crossing of a threshold. International collaboration on the student plane needs what the youth of America can give it.

**Violence in Poland.** The tragic climax towards which Poland appears to be rushing is indirectly but unmistakably reflected in the appeal issued June 12 by the bishops. In their joint pastoral from Czenstochowa they have deplored the rising tide of unrest and lawlessness that has surged higher as the elections approach. It appears from the pastoral that terroristic and lawless bands have made their presence felt throughout the country. But the bishops point out that the guilt rests with government officials as well. "Complaints are loud and universal about armed attacks, infringement of personal freedom and murders without evidence of guilt in court," say the bishops, in apparent reference to attempts by the Provisional Government to stamp out the only opposition party presently in the field. Followers of the Peasant Party leader, Stanislaus Mikolajczyk, have warned that the country is heading towards civil war growing out of these efforts to impose a Russian-controlled government upon an unwilling people. In deploring the general violence of both factions, the Polish bishops put themselves on record against the anarchy to which Poland seems inexorably to be hurrying. The pastoral, which also expresses the gratitude of Polish Catholics for the benefactions of the American clergy, in which the War Relief Services of the National Catholic Welfare Conference has played a leading role, and to the members of Polish American philanthropic associations, is a warning to the western world of possible great upheavals in their unhappy land. Continued unrest might provide the Red Army with a pretext formally to re-occupy the country. In any event, the Polish bishops have appealed against violence which can only bring "further unhappiness on the fatherland."

**Ignoring German Catholics.** The Western Allies in Germany, as this Review has continued to point out, are missing some great chances for a real re-education of the German people, mainly because they will not reckon properly with the Catholic population in predominantly Catholic sections. The London *Tablet* for June 1 carries another sample of this short-sighted policy. Mr. R. J. Taylor, a British member of the Central Control for Germany, made known that

... British newspapers and articles are supplied to editors of all licensed newspapers and periodicals in the British Zone, to politicians of all important political parties, and to senior German officials in the regions and principal towns of the Zone. The newspapers and periodicals supplied are: *The Times*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Weekly Observer*, *Spectator*, *New Statesman*, *Tribune*, *Economist*.

Commenting on this release, the *Tablet* remarks:

To a population so very largely Catholic, not one Catholic journal. All these journals, with their varying merits, have in common a disregard for, many of them a marked aversion from, the Church; some of them, like the *Observer* and the *New Statesman*, are consistently and openly hostile.

If veiled or open hostility to the Church colors the "democracy" the British are trying to teach, will German Catholics be called "reactionary" and "crypto-nazis" if they look upon it with a wary eye?

**Co-op Students from Latin America.** A basic principle of the consumer cooperative movement is that education in the spirit and methods of cooperation should be carried on continually. In accordance with that principle, Inter-American Cooperative Education came into being. Its first project will be launched this summer when twenty-two men and women come to the U.S. for five and a half months of study and training. The students come from the countries which make up the Bolivian Cooperative Union: Colombia, Bolivia, Peru, Venezuela, Cuba and Panama. Following four weeks of an intensive orientation course at the University of Kansas City, the students will split into two groups: twelve studying under Farm Credit Administration and ten going to regional cooperatives and to local associations. The program ends with a two-week special course to summarize the five-month experience. In this all will participate. Sponsors of the project are the Rochdale Institute, the Consumer Cooperative Association, the University of Kansas City and the Farm Credit Administration. Consistent with the cooperative ideal of establishing greater solidarity among men in working out their economic destiny, the organizations behind this project see the need of closer relations with those of other countries. By promoting such educational projects they contribute substantially to the understanding between nations which is essential to peace. This they do even while spreading knowledge of the cooperative principles which themselves have a contribution to make in stabilizing economic conditions, both national and international.

**Repatriation Racket.** Racketeers are not wanting even when it comes to repatriating the soldier dead. The National Selected Morticians point out that already racketeers are trying to capitalize on the feelings of Gold Star families by offering to assist—for a fee, of course—in securing repatriation. Says W. M. Krieger, executive

secretary of the organization of morticians mentioned:

In the West the racket consisted of an offer to help kin procure the repatriation of the bodies of their dead. The scheme was exposed and denounced by reputable morticians, including the N.S.M., and army officials.

Unfortunately, many of the public do not understand that the law providing funds for repatriation leaves it strictly to the next of kin to decide whether or not there is to be repatriation. Moreover, the N.S.M. adds:

No one need pay any money for "help" in procuring repatriation. Every reputable mortician will be happy to give advice to a next of kin or Gold Star family. Offers of "help" in exchange for money should be reported to a reputable mortician, a clergyman, or federal authorities.

A racket of this kind is particularly disgusting. Attention is called to it here because proper understanding of the conditions of repatriation is the most effective way to combat the racket.

**First American Saint.** A great event in the history of the Church in this country will take place on July 7, when Mother Frances Xavier Cabrini will be solemnly declared a canonized saint. For the first time in our history we will have resting within our boundaries the body of one whose soul, on the infallible word of Christ's Church, enjoys the Beatific Vision. From that sacred presence who can estimate what spiritual energy may well forth for the sanctification of modern American life? For surely that is the significance of Mother Cabrini's being raised to the altar in our day: her life is a challenge and a reminder that the sanctifying power of the Church is not diminished by urban, mechanized life. She is the first of many saints whom God will raise up for the ennobling of humanity in the sterile canyons of our great cities. Perhaps there is a further significance in this canonization. Mother Cabrini's work was most magnificent and lasting in that it was heroically done for a nationality that was, in her time, the object of cruel discrimination. It was largely through her personal toil that Americans of Italian descent have won a just integration in the American scene. The example of her sanctity and its official declaration may well prove a stimulus for all, and especially Catholics, to dedicate themselves to wiping out what still remains to mock our pretensions to democracy, discrimination because of race, color or creed. Saint Francis Xavier Cabrini proves again, as every saint has proved, that the truest democracy is the sanctity which the Church nourishes.



## WASHINGTON FRONT

OUT OF ALL the recent turmoil over strike control and price control, a pattern begins to emerge. The anti-OPA members of Congress, it now becomes clear, really do want much higher prices; that is, inflation. That means that they, or those who are pushing them, want a boom. And that means they want the bust that will follow.

It is not irrelevant, then, to be reminded that in every bust that follows a boom it is the less-well fortified that go to the wall, the small businessmen, and that economic power is more and more centralized in fewer hands. Our past cycles of boom-burst have borne that out.

On the other hand, we now begin to understand the fiery zeal of those who want to outlaw strikes. Rising prices will wipe out every gain made by the strikes of this year—the General Motors workers have already felt this—and so we will shortly have another wave of demands from the unions for wages to meet the new price level. If the anti-OPA forces can at the same time abolish strikes, then what those forces are really aiming at, higher profits on commodities, will be assured for a time. The things fit together.

And yet, among the more intelligent of those who are figuring this way, there are beginning to appear evidences of some misgivings. Already that bugaboo of businessmen, the buyers' strike, has appeared in various places. Then, too, many people are wondering if all that purchasing power really exists; that is, in the hands of people who will be expected to buy all the wonderful gadgets, the new clothes, the new houses, cars, refrigerators, radios, aluminum ware, that the retailers hope to offer. There are good figures to show that most of that dammed-up money is in the hands of the richer few, even after they have paid their taxes.

If that expectation, or rather fear, is realized, then deflation may come more quickly than was expected, especially, as may be added, if the electrical and automobile industries drain off what cash money there is in the middle-income groups through the allurements of instalment buying.

Thus Washington is a prey to alternate fears and hopes. Those Congressmen who have played the game of no-brakes-on-prices and full-brakes-on-wages have taken a heavy gamble, and some of them probably realize it. The bust may follow the boom at record speed, maybe even before November. The President, of course, and his assistants are taking what precautions they can to avoid the blame for what may happen, but the individual Congressmen are pretty helpless in the storm.

WILFRID PARSONS

## UNDERSCORINGS

CALENDAR OF CATHOLIC EVENTS, *July*: 1-6, Summer School of Catholic Action, Chicago; 2-5, Seminar on Negro problems in the field of social action, under aegis of National Catholic School of Social Service, Washington; 8-11, convention of Catholic Daughters of America, St. Louis; 29-August 3, Summer School of Catholic Action, San Antonio.

► The Seminar on Negro Problems will have Bishop Haas of Grand Rapids and Father McGowan of NCWC to swing its five committees into motion—on economic problems, housing, civic rights, social work and health, how to get vigorous action on the conclusions and resolutions of the Seminar.

► Two institutes for clerical students: 1) Institute of Catholic Social Studies at Catholic University, July 1-August 10. Its aim: training of priests for social action. Its faculty: Fathers John S. Cronin, S.S.; William Gordon, O.S.A.; Vincent O'Connell, S.M. 2) Institute in Social Work in the Missions, St. Louis University, July 8-August 2. Purpose: the training of missionary priests and seminarians in the social program of the Church. Topics: cooperatives, British colonial policy, credit unions, social work and rural life in the missions, the State Department and missions.

► Important, too, and urgent is the domestic matter of delayed vocations. After the first World War the English Jesuits started a delayed-vocation school at Osterley, from which 483 students have graduated into the priesthood. Now the New England Jesuits announce the beginning, in September, of a similar school—in Boston for the present, later as a boarding school probably somewhere else—for men between 20 and 35 years of age. Approved by the State Department of Massachusetts and by the Veterans Administration for GI educational allotments, the school will prepare its students for all dioceses and for religious orders and congregations. A high-school diploma is preferred, but three years of high school will do. Father George M. Murphy, S.J., is the director, 300 Newbury St., Boston.

► Maryville College, St. Louis, has initiated an official prayer crusade. It is asking people to send the following appeal to President Truman: "As citizens of a Christian country, and at a time when God's guidance is obviously needed, we earnestly request Your Excellency to use the influence of the United States to have sessions of the United Nations and all international assemblies opened with prayer." The answer to this crusade should be immediate action.

A. P. F.



# Catholic France in War and Peace

JEAN MINERY, S.J.

THERE IS good and evil in most things. The Catholic Church has proved the truth of that during the vicissitudes of its long history. The late war was an evil—a great evil. Has Catholicism in France been diminished by it, or may it look for a Second Spring?

It is pretty evident that there can be no statistical answer to that question. Even if there were such an answer, what good would it do to draw up tables of figures, to give a quantitative answer in a matter where quality is what matters most? There is, indeed, a statistical aspect to the question, since the Catholic Church is a society and must remain true to Christ's command to grow and increase; but to speak of the Catholic problem in modern France is to speak of values.

Have the spiritual, the divine values which are the characteristic concern of the Church been safeguarded? These values, note well, are not merely a precious, but static, capital, to be handed on intact from generation to generation. They are a living heritage, a vital message to be expressed in the language of each succeeding era, so that all may find in the gospel, and in the theology which springs from the gospel, a contemporary answer to contemporary problems.

Has the Church in France tackled the task of thinking through anew the questions that are burning in men's minds—questions, often, that involve the most essential principles; questions, one may say, of life and death? While thinkers, sociologists, statesmen are laboring to construct systems fundamentally pagan, are we Catholics working not only to elaborate the social, economic, philosophic principles of the gospels, but to reform, if necessary, existing institutions that are proving inadequate?

Faithful to the truly prophetic directives of Pius XI on Catholic Action—which he defined as "the apostolate of the laity under the direction of the hierarchy"—the Church in France experienced between the years 1930 and 1940 an upsurge of very fruitful activity which enabled it to breast the terrible flood that swept across France in June, 1940. During the pre-war years a whole galaxy of philosophers and theologians, as familiar with the psychology of the contemporary world as they were zealous for the progress of thought, set before themselves, as the aim of their teaching and writing, to penetrate every section

of the Catholic community with the principles of a modern Christian civilization and culture. The Catholic literature of that period is immense and, while covering almost every sphere of human activity, it is particularly rich in the social field.

While Catholic thought was thus being elaborated, and its expression adjusted to the actual needs of the times, Catholic Action was being solidly organized on every level. The JOC (Young Christian Workers) took the lead, followed by the JAC (Christian Rural Youth) and the JEC (Young Christian Students). Then came the movements which operated in a more narrowly professional field: among doctors, lawyers, industrialists, engineers. (Many of these had long been organized, and needed only to bring their ideas and methods up to date.) The Paris Stock Exchange had its active group; the Christian Trade Unions, spurred by the events of 1936, put out fresh efforts. In a word, the number of active Catholics grew, and the specialized movements penetrated the various social levels, starting from the principle that to have any influence in a given group it is essential to share the solidarity of that group, to live its life.

In this new organization of Catholic Action, Pius XI had clearly laid down the role of the priest. Initiative in action, and the practical work of the apostolate, belonged to the laity. The priest was to be the counsellor and, above all, the spiritual guide. To him it belonged to provide the Catholic Action groups with the solid spiritual nourishment that would make them radiant with zeal for justice and charity.

The mobilization of September, 1939, disorganized Catholic Action insofar as most Frenchmen had then to abandon their usual professions to address themselves to a single work—temporary, indeed, but, while it lasted, exclusive: the defense of their country. Some weeks after the mobilization, the Catholic Actionists and the numerous priests who had been called to the colors reconstituted the Catholic Action groups in their regiments, battalions, companies.

Came the *débâcle* of June, 1940, and with it fresh disorganization, more serious this time. Soon after the Armistice it was evident to anyone with a head on his shoulders that the Nazis would not be content with a military occupation, but would attempt a cultural occupation—if one can speak

of culture in the same breath with nazism—which would be more dangerous and much more difficult to cope with.

We had not long to wait. The first moves were directed at the suppression of the Catholic press in the occupied zone—which comprised about two-thirds of the country. The Catholic Action groups, much weakened by the absence of many thousands of prisoners of war, were not officially suppressed; for the Nazis, looking forward to the "era of collaboration," were anxious not to antagonize the French people. But the people were not deceived. However, petty persecution on a local scale was widespread, and Catholic Action was forced to adopt what was practically an underground organization—with all the risks that implied. Its groups continued to exist and to work everywhere. Arrests were numerous; but the places left by the victims of the Gestapo were rapidly filled.

When the deportations for forced labor began, groups were immediately formed in the German factories; and a director left for Berlin, whence he drew together the local organizations. The French bishops had demanded chaplains for the deported workers. The Nazis had agreed in principle, but kept putting off fulfilment of the promise on one pretext or another, and there never were any official chaplains. But certain priests, accepting with open eyes the risk they ran, went as workers, under false identities, to work with and sustain the morale of the deportees. The Gestapo was ruthless with those it found out; and several of these priests died in concentration camps.

Beside the Catholic apostolate, and as an extension of it, went the duties of patriotism; and here, too, the Catholic Actionists did not fail. They worked with the underground press as editors, printers, distributors. They were numerous in the resistance groups. The Catholics, too, had their underground press; the best known paper was the *Cahiers du Témoignage Chrétien* ("Christian Witness"), which today is a widely read weekly. Its influence reached far beyond Catholic circles; and through the damning documentation which it periodically provided against nazism it contributed powerfully to the spirit of the resistance. The Gestapo's estimate of it may be judged from the fact that a special section was set up to discover and apprehend its authors—in vain, of course.

Surprise has been expressed in certain quarters that during the occupation the official voice of the Church in France was not raised to denounce the crimes of the Nazis. It must be remembered,

first of all, that some official voices were raised. Msgr. Théas, Bishop of Montauban, spoke out forcefully; he was arrested and imprisoned in a concentration camp in Compiègne. Msgr. Piguet, Bishop of Clermont-Ferrand, also found himself in a German concentration camp for his plain speaking. And Msgr. (now Cardinal) Salièges, the Bishop of Toulouse, in spite of his illness, never ceased, over a period of four years, to defend, in many a direct and hard-hitting pronouncement, human rights and international law. His paralysis saved him from arrest; but in his place the Nazis took Msgr. Bruno de Solages, Rector of the Catholic University of Toulouse, himself a man of unflinching principle. As soon as the anti-Jewish pogroms began, Cardinal Gerlier, of Lyons, protested solemnly against the racial laws, and gave every encouragement to the Catholics who had at once begun to shelter Jewish children and, as far as possible, Jewish adults.

It is indeed true that in France there was raised no voice comparable to that of Cardinal Mercier or Cardinal Luçon during the last war. But were not conditions very different in the two world wars? In the late war the Catholics did not wait for the word from above in order to resist the spirit of nazism. Spontaneously they arose on every social level to fight to the death in defense of the values upon which they had resolved to found their personal lives and without which they knew that the life of a nation could not long endure.

The Catholic martyrology is a long one. In it are the names of young Catholic workers shot at Mont-Valérien and elsewhere; of university students and professors, who fell in arms with the *maquis* or who were murdered after arrest, like Gilbert Dru, a young student who was one of the active editors of the Catholic press and who was shot, with a number of his comrades, in Lyons, their bodies being left on the main street all day to impress the people of that city; of many priests who helped the *maquis* or were their chaplains—like Father de Montcheuil, one of the most brilliant professors of theology in France, who, after fighting by word and pen, left his studies to share the sufferings and the fighting of the *maquis*. Many were shot; numberless others died in prison camps.

A great and important work was done by Catholic efforts in the prisoner-of-war camps. (There were 1,400,000 French prisoners of war in 1940.) Catholic Actionists were busy from the first months of their five-year captivity. An intense religious life was fostered in the camps, and Catholic Action groups organized for the most



varied purposes: conferences, university courses, theatricals. All this activity bore fruit; conversions were many among the prisoners; and for Catholics there was a magnificent deepening of their faith.

*(This is the first of two articles by Fr. Minéry on the Church in France today. The second will appear next week.—EDITOR.)*

## THE RADICALS AND THEIR REVEILLE

EDWARD DUFF

BEHIND THE STOCKYARDS of Chicago is a square mile and a half of poverty, bad housing, poor health, nationalist rivalries and labor unrest in a district known to social engineers as a "blighted area" and to its neighbors as "Back of the Yards." Behind the determination of the people of the district to tackle and solve their own problems is an experiment in democracy, the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council. And behind the much-publicized achievements of the Council is the Catholic Church.

Not that the Council is a Catholic organization. Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, the honorary director, explains that it is "merely a union of all the forces that go to make up the community working for the common good." But when you are dealing with a population which is 90 per cent Catholic, where there is a church every three blocks, where department-store windows display Confirmation and First Communion dresses, where two out of three children are in a parochial school, it is inevitable that a representative community organization must rest heavily upon the support of the Church. In such a district it will not seem disproportionate that 125 out of the 185 organizations composing the Council will be parish societies—sodalities, Holy Name Societies, CYO, etc. Nor will it be surprising to find a priest as president of such a Council. And who, more properly than the Cardinal Archbishop of Chicago, should be present as the special guest at the meeting of such an organization?

"The common good" is a phrase with a familiar Catholic ring to it. It is the purpose and the measure, according to Catholic philosophy, of all social action, all social programs. "To promote the welfare of all the residents of the community, regardless of their race, color or creed, so that they may all have the opportunity to find health, happiness and security through the democratic way of life," is the way the Back of the Yards Council

phrases its function in a statement issued by leaders of the community in April, 1939, when the organization was projected. The "common good" has been the motive for all its activities since.

For the 100,000 people who live Back of the Yards, "social programs" were suspect. The words stood for all-too-neat, interfering suggestions of outside social workers who used to "go down" into the Yards with pious hopes of uplifting the unfortunate. That kind of patronizing talk is resented Back of the Yards. Besides, talk and social surveys merely describe or decry "blight," they don't remove it. "We the people will work out our own destiny," was the decision made in starting the Council. "We know what we want and our local leaders will help us get it."

There is a lot to be gotten for the people Back of the Yards. Economic security, first of all; for "blight" is a euphemism for poverty, and poverty means bad health, bad housing and angry competition for jobs. Conditions Back of the Yards are an irrefutable indictment of the brutal working of America's industrial economy. The achievements of the Back of the Yards Council is a heartening demonstration of democratic Catholic social action.

The history of labor relations in the great packing plants of Chicago is not a pretty one, and explains both the poverty and the population composition of the district. All attempts of the workers to organize unions, beginning with the effort of the Knights of Labor in 1879, were defeated by a common policy of the Packers. Recruit a new labor force in Europe from a different language group, bring them in as strike-breakers, foster old-world hatreds among the employes, was the method. Pit Lithuanian against Pole, Czech against Slovak, with the Negro usable as a last resort, and there will be plenty of takers for jobs even though it means several of the family will have to work. The authors of *Armour and His Times*, a book that had the approval of the entire living Armour family, admit it was a settled policy of the Packers "to foment suspicion, rivalry and even enmity" among the different nationalities. Low wages are responsible for 85 per cent of the mothers of one parish being forced to seek employment during the day, for boarders being taken into crowded flats to help pay rent, for there being 13,000 people on the relief rolls today, even after the advent of Social Security. Low wages and insecurity of employment show up in a school survey disclosing that 92 per cent of the children have positive tendencies towards tuberculosis. Low wages make the Catholic education of children beyond grade school an almost



impossible hope. The end-product is an unlovely picture of a demoralized people in a down-at-the-heels neighborhood—a challenge to the Catholic Church and to democracy.

The Back of the Yards Council is the answer to that challenge. The situation was a summons, a "Reveille for Radicals." The "Radicals" that responded were chiefly the Catholic clergy. Not a political ideology but a conviction of the relevance of the corporal works of mercy moved them.

A community project demands common effort; it is generally a product of pooled ideas; it almost necessarily supposes disposing causes. There was a growing sense of solidarity Back of the Yards before there was a Council. Two of the parishes had labor schools to provide guidance for workers during the aggressive organizing drive the CIO had brought to the packing plant; a day nursery for the children of working mothers of the neighborhood was being conducted by the Franciscan Sisters of Blessed Kunegunda; Joseph B. Meegan, with a background of experience in Bishop Bernard J. Sheil's Catholic Youth Organization, was Director of Davis Square Park where he was sponsoring, with the cooperation of the businessmen of the area, an elaborate recreation program; Saul D. Alinsky, a University of Chicago criminologist making a survey for the Institute for Juvenile Research, was one of the frequent visitors.

From a meeting of 12 leaders of the neighborhood went out a call for a Community Congress to be held July 14, 1939, that resulted in the formation of the Back of the Yards Council. Bishop Sheil, who was present at the first conference, called it "one of the most vivid demonstrations of the democratic process in action that I have ever witnessed." For representatives of 76 local organizations decided that 50 years of waiting was evidence enough of the inability of outsiders to understand the problems of Packingtown or to attempt anything more than piecemeal suggestions. The neighborhood and its problems had to be viewed as a whole, and a frontal attack made against the "blight"; and who could do that better than "we the people" through the joint action of the organizations of the community? "We have had enough of talking, let's act," they resolved. A strike would be more serviceable than a settlement house, especially one whose policies Catholics found intolerable, they believed. Along with the demands for an infant-welfare station, medical and dental clinics, better housing, etc., the conference urged Armour to sign a contract with the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Commit-

tee, which was threatening a strike to win recognition of its claims.

Back of the Yards Council, then, at the very meeting that gave it existence, endorsed the stand of labor. It has done so consistently ever since. "The Packinghouse Workers have our wholehearted support, as we know it would mean a more prosperous community," explains Joseph B. Meegan, Executive Secretary. During the strike in the meat plants this spring, the Council not merely offered its endorsement, but its officers, headed by Father Edward Plawinski, joined the picket line. The Council's truck distributed coffee and sandwiches, and in the dining-room of the Guardian Angel Nursery the Sisters served hot meals paid for by the Council. This close working of the clergy and the CIO union is taken for granted by both sides.

Is the situation likely to prove embarrassing for the Church later? The membership of a Protestant parish whose pastor was an officer of the Council found the strike endorsement embarrassing. Sigmund Włodarczyk, Field Agent for UPWA, who is Vice-President of the Council and President of a Holy Name Society, has an answer: "What's so strange about churches and unions working together? Why wouldn't they work together when the same men and women belong to both?" The priests would doubtless readily admit to bias in favor of labor, and explain that they are biased in favor of the welfare of their own people. The Council has a Race Relations Committee whose work was not unhelpful to the labor unions. This year, for the first time, Negroes and whites were united in a strike.

The infant-welfare station was provided by the city, and its use recommended from the pulpits. The appalling figure of one child out of every ten dead before reaching the age of two has been drastically reduced. To improve health, the Federal Government's hot-lunch and penny-milk program was sought for the school children, giving them a chance "to eat democracy," as Meegan phrases it. Today the Council sponsors the lunch program in 18 schools and does the necessary paper work on the milk going to the children of 80 schools. Juvenile delinquency is handled on a typical neighbor-to-neighbor basis. Offenders are turned over to a jury of the Council's officers that always includes the culprit's parish priest. Home conditions are not merely checked but remedies in the way of clothes, medicines and employment supplied. Raising the general economic level, finding more jobs, is the chief answer to delinquency, the Council believes, when petty thieving is generally due to a quest for spending money.

The curious judgment of the President of the Chicago Park District that municipal property could not house the headquarters of such a community enterprise forced the Council to open an office at 4600 S. Ashland Ave. There Joe Meegan, the affable young Executive Secretary, adroitly handles the problems of the neighborhood, which involve helping families to find a flat, persuading local merchants to donate household furnishings for Sisters opening a social center, directing confused young couples to the priest to have their marriage rectified and getting letters from the old country translated for relatives in America who never learned the language of their forebears. How much the success of the Council owes to the energy and resourcefulness of this completely unselfish Catholic is difficult to exaggerate.

When Meegan's transfer from Davis Square Park was announced, protests were included in the announcements read at the Masses, and the children were photographed offering special prayers. His resignation from the Park made it possible for him to devote all his time to the activities of the Council, of which Saul Alinsky is Technical Advisor.

The basis, even the boast, of the Back of the Yards movement, is its non-professional approach. "We the people will work out our own destiny" in the way that seems best to us, no matter what the books say. The Council's funds are disbursed as the officers—who know the needs of the neighborhood—think best. Social workers may disapprove, but money with no strings attached is given to boy's athletic clubs with a resulting increase in their sense of responsibility, it is reported. The Guardian Angel Nursery and St. Philip of Jesus Social Center are subsidized because they render an essential service to the neighborhood. For years the Mexicans, the least favored group in an ill-favored district, have been hoping to build a church. The Council gave them a large donation. Not that there is a "them" Back of the Yards; there is only "we the people."

Where does the money come from? A substantial contribution from the Community Fund doesn't cover the expenses of the Council; gifts from businessmen help; a Jungle Jamboree held each summer realizes a good deal. And while social workers again might disapprove, the Council sees nothing wrong with Bingo as a means of financial support.

Working together has won for the people of the district a new feeling of friendliness, a pride in being from Back of the Yards. It was something to boast about when local boys met overseas during the war. 5,000 GI's were kept in touch with

the district and the achievements of the people from the pages of the *Back of the Yards Journal*, mailed out each week by the Council and addressed by the girls from a parochial high school. The *Journal* itself is good evidence of the character of the movement. Without change of ownership the local newspaper became the organ of the Council, which is itself the organ of the community. It features the Council's campaign for the continuance of OPA, and its drives to clean up alleys, paint up homes and plant trees in the neighborhood. It reports the doings of the representatives the Council sent to Washington to lobby for an investigation of the shortage of livestock in the yards responsible for a large lay-off of packinghouse workers. When the summary of a housing survey conducted by the Council failed to get action from the City Hall, the *Journal* revealed that the children of 14 parochial schools had discovered violations of Building and Sanitary Codes in 3,621 houses in 600 blocks Back of the Yards. The Health and Building Commissioners promptly began to remind landlords of their obligations. A diocesan paper could hardly be expected to give the ample coverage the *Journal* assigns to parish activities. Nor are the merchants of the neighborhood neglected. Wide publicity is given at Christmastime to the Council's "Shop Back of the Yards" campaign. A veteran opening an automobile agency gets his picture on the front page showing a new car to Father Plawinski, President of the Council, and Lou Cohen, head of the Businessmen's Association. Serialized publication of the booklet, *The Atomic Bomb*, by the Atomic Scientists of Chicago, is an indication that the larger issues of the day are brought to the attention of the people of the neighborhood.

The chief significance of the Back of the Yards Council lies, not in what it has achieved, but what it is: the expression of a neighborhood interested in its local problems, confident of its ability to help itself and actively working at the unending task of improving the external conditions of human living through cooperative effort. Does successful cooperation demand in the people, in addition to a belief in practical democracy, the bond of a common Faith providing a common motivation? The full evidence on the question isn't in yet, but journalists and sociologists appraising the Back of the Yards Movement would do well to remember that 90 per cent of the people of the district are Catholics and that their efforts to improve their community have been led by the priests of nine Catholic parishes whose radicalism is rooted in religion.



## CATHOLICS AND AUSTRIAN POLITICAL LIFE

HANS PITTONI

MORE THAN NINETY PER CENT of the Austrians are Catholics. This does not mean that all of them are practising Catholics, nor does it mean that the present majority party, the Austrian People's Party, is a "Catholic" party in the strict sense of the word. As in most of the old European countries where Catholicism constitutes an integral part of the nation's history and tradition, Catholicism is not merely an ecclesiastical matter, but a national characteristic.

This tendency is reflected in many spheres, even in non-Catholic groups and institutions; and it is in this sense that "Catholic" and "Austrian" are inseparable terms. That this prevailing Catholic tendency does not always imply an active religious life must be clearly understood because, while a large portion of the Austrian people profess and practise their Catholic religion, not all who are baptized and brought up as Catholics are active members of the Church. The majority of the Austrian Socialists remain "Catholics" in name, and did so even during the campaign of anti-religious propaganda conducted by their party after the First World War; only a small minority responded and left the Church. Of the most militant opponents of the Church only a few ever went so far as to sever ties with Catholicism.

This attitude is not logical; to overlook it, however, may lead to false conclusions. This is what the Nazis found when, after the annexation in 1938, they started an avalanche of propaganda and pressure to bring about mass apostasy. They withdrew financial support from the Church and introduced, instead, a special tax, hoping that the people would rather leave the Church than pay this not inconsiderable levy. Not only did most of the Austrians pay their Church tax as a welcome demonstration against Nazi domination, but people who had only nominally belonged to the Church now paid the tax and resumed active religious participation in the life of the Church. Never in recent years was there so high a level of active Catholic life as during the Nazi domination. This increased with the years. People who first had yielded to Nazi pressure and propaganda returned to the Church even at the risk of persecution, particularly in 1942 and 1943. The Nazis poured their wrath on them, while at the same time the Church applied stricter measures than before to make sure that the return was motivated by genuine intentions.

Considering all this, Catholic groups would have had a good chance of establishing an outspoken Catholic party after liberation. Allied leaflets and radio propaganda had always referred to "Catholics," "Socialists" and "Communists" to identify the political groups during the struggle. When the Russians entered Vienna and political committees were formed, the new authorities demanded that Catholics—not politicians of the defunct Christian Social Party—should be represented along with Communists and Socialists.

The Catholics, however, preferred to forego this opportunity. Neither did they establish an official liaison with the only non-Marxian majority party, called the People's Party. No member of the clergy holds a public office—and this in a country where, in the not-too-distant past of the monarchy, many members of the hierarchy were *ex officio* seated in the Upper House, like the Lord Bishops of the Church of England in the House of Lords, and where prelates like the late Msgr. Seipel or the present Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna, Dr. Innitzer, served at times in the highest cabinet offices of the republic.

The reason for this change in the political thinking of Catholic Austrians lies in the growing realization that revival of religious life can make outstanding progress when completely divorced from party strife. The Church has paid heavily in the past for the mistakes of so-called "devout Catholic politicians." And the present political deals between all parties, like the truce on questions of marriage law, do not invite Catholic participation in politics.

The disadvantage of such an abstention—namely, that the absence of a Catholic party may offer an opportunity to other parties to solicit the vote of Catholics, as was attempted by the Communists at the recent general elections—does not count too heavily. The Austrian Catholics, with their newly expanded *Actio Catholica*, their large denominational organizations, their *Caritas* as the most important of the official domestic-relief organizations, etc., constitute so essential an element of public life that they cannot be disregarded by any political faction or party. If they succeed in intensifying the religious revival and in overcoming anti-religious sentiments—which are now mostly under cover—Austria will remain the Catholic country she has been known to be for centuries.

Another question of present-day Austria concerns the left-wing parties. The "Austrian Socialist Party" is successor to the Social Democratic Labor Party of pre-Dollfuss Austria. It was not without reason that the party dropped the word



"democratic" just at a time when, after the defeat of fascism, the slogan "democracy" became a recommendation. After the unfortunate trouble between the Dollfuss government and the Austrian Socialists in 1934, an authoritarian regime was established and all political parties abolished. The radical elements of the Social Democrats went underground and founded the party of the "Austrian Revolutionary Socialists." This group took an active part in the Austrian resistance movement against the Nazi regime.

The crisis came after the liberation. The activists pleaded for revolutionary socialism; they blamed the compromising attitude of many of their old comrades for having lived through the authoritarian and Nazi regimes without great difficulty, and for having turned the old party into an almost bourgeois faction. The more moderate groups, on the other hand, feared that the radicals would abandon the party and join the Communists if no new party set-up could be found. The result was a typical Austrian solution: the Austrian Socialist Party.

It is astonishing that the Socialist Party leaders showed such misunderstanding of Austrian mentality as to emphasize the new name; the broad masses are at present neither radical nor revolutionary. The more the Communists press for radicalism, the less can the Socialists keep pace, because the majority of their adherents want, above all, order and economic security. The party of Renner, Koerner, Seitz, etc., would not have lost a single vote, had the candidates run under the old banner of the Social Democratic Labor Party. The smashing defeat of the Communists is a clear proof of this. Austrian labor remembers collective bargaining and the vast field of labor legislation, to which the socialist-inspired trade unions contributed much, although it should never be forgotten that the majority of these laws were enacted while the Christian Social majority party was in power. It was the confidence in the well-known leaders, but not the new party name, which kept the socialist vote on an even level.

There is, however, one noteworthy exception: while socialist labor remained loyal, it was the Socialist-Marxian intelligentsia which changed over to the Communists. This was particularly obvious in Vienna during the first months of liberation, when the Communists were the favorites of the Russian occupants.

Communists and Socialists are very much at odds. Each party accuses the other of high treason against the proletariat. The Socialists contend that only communist separatism assured the People's Party of its victory in the last elections. Commu-

nists, on the other hand, blame the Socialists for their past *Anschluss* policy, although no one can say what would happen to the "nationalist" attitude of the Austrian Communists if a communist Germany emerged.

With regard to socialization of industries, the present attitude of the Austrian Socialists is much more radical than in the past. Nevertheless they are not unconditional supporters of a general nationalization program as are their fellows to the left, the Communists. This is explained by the greater political responsibility of the Socialists in the Austrian government.

One thing is certain: The anti-religious policy of the left-wing parties in Austria has lost its aggressiveness to a certain degree. The Socialists favor the continuation of the Nazi-introduced obligatory civil marriage, the elimination of compulsory teaching of religion in public schools and the closing of the denominational schools, but they are careful not to attack the Church. Whether this represents a real change of heart or is just political strategy, whether this new attitude is sincere and reflects the esteem won by the loyal behavior of Catholics in SS prisons and concentration camps, only the future will tell.

## GOALS FOR AGRICULTURE

WILLIAM J. GIBBONS

AGRICULTURAL POLICY intimately affects the lives of all of us. Upon it depends the answer to the question: Will we have the foods we need, in the quantities we have a right to expect, at the prices we can afford to pay? In but a slightly lesser degree the same holds true for the other basic human needs—clothing and shelter.

Wool, cotton and flax remain staple materials in the production of clothing and textiles. The availability and price of shoes and leather goods have a close relationship to the supply, quality and disposition of farm animals. Wood, widely used in home construction and furnishing, comes from forests whose upkeep and development cannot be separated from overall agricultural policy and from prevailing conditions in our fields and pastures.

Science and technology may indeed modify agriculture and its ally, forestry, but they cannot replace them. Today, as in the past, mankind's standard of living and his temporal welfare are closely related to the productivity and prosperity of the agricultural portion of the world economy. That's why agricultural policy, both domestic and international, is of vital concern to every American and to the world.

Next to atomic energy, food is the most spectacular of modern problems. Within recent years we have witnessed about as many people die or be permanently affected because of hunger and starvation as were casualties upon the battlefield or under aerial bombardment. Famine by no means confined itself to battle areas, nor has it been solely the product of wartime instability. While war conditions accentuated the problem, they did not create it. A world without economic equilibrium was starving before the first shot was fired. It will continue to go hungry even after UNRRA and war-relief agencies have completed their immediate task. That is, unless we apply to the solution of national and international agricultural problems the same energy that we are applying to, say, atomic-energy problems—or perhaps even more. Unless we do that, hunger may become the rival of modern warfare in killing off mankind and destroying civilization.

There can be no peace in a chronically hungry, inadequately clothed and poorly-housed world. Nor is there any escape for individual nations by cultivating economic autarchy. Short-sighted, selfish policy puts its trust in tariffs, in purely domestic price supports and parity, in bilateral trade agreements on specific commodities, without regard to overall prosperity. Yet these attempts to isolate oneself from world misery are doomed to failure. At best, the temporary prosperity of the isolated country excites the envy of neighbors and thus leads to strife. At worst, the painfully-erected economic barriers crumble before the onrush of world depression and unemployment. If political isolation is outmoded, then economic isolation and policies built upon it are even more so. Certainly, as means of securing prosperity and peace, they are utterly futile.

The formation of a postwar agricultural policy for the United States must take its start from this international viewpoint. It is an approach which immediately outlaws an agricultural economy of scarcity, of irrational restrictions, of favored producer positions. It brings to the fore the fact that a key problem of agriculture in our modern economy is the rational disposal of surpluses. From the very nature of agriculture, these are at times inevitable if we are to have the full production required to satisfy world needs for food and fiber. Surpluses can be adequately controlled, and the farmers' incomes made safe, only by action on an international scale. Clear-cut domestic agricultural policy is imperative, but of itself it will not bring stability.

There are several promising signs that the proper international approach to agriculture and

food problems is in process of development. From most nations the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization has received an enthusiastic, though subdued, response. Apart from those who would preserve economic instability in the interests of world revolution—or their own interests—it is now generally recognized that food and agricultural problems demand more specialized attention than do the more general problems of international trade and finance. Second, non-governmental farmers' agencies, including our own, are showing a lively interest in collaboration on the international plane. The recent International Producers' Conference in London was the outcome of just this interest.

In a lengthy memorandum submitted to the London meeting, the National Farmers' Union laid down three objectives for agricultural policy. The concrete proposals made in the memorandum have these objectives in view. (The proposals deserve detailed consideration for which there is not space here.) We repeat the objectives because they emphasize what must be the broad goals of any effective food and agricultural policy:

1. To encourage abundant production and wide distribution of agricultural commodities.
2. To increase the income of agricultural producers.
3. To expand private trade in international commerce.

These objectives seem simple in themselves, and perhaps quite evident. They imply, however, if we sincerely pursue all of them at once, an about-face from some of the agricultural policies of pre-war years. They imply, if accepted, that we turn our backs upon the special-interest farm groups who would throw the whole agricultural economy out of equilibrium just to maintain their own position. They imply that commercial farmers, even while insisting on a reasonable return for their labor, must subordinate the pursuit of profits to the production of sufficient food and fiber for a needy world. Full production of agricultural commodities and of needed food is possible only if Americans, and particularly the farm portion of our population, fully accept their international responsibility in the economic sphere.

#### WHO'S WHO

REV. JEAN MINERY, S.J., a French chaplain who served for several years under General LeClerc, is now in this country studying U. S. educational systems.

REV. EDWARD DUFF, S.J., is a member of the Staff of the Institute of Social Order.

HANS PITTONI, a leading figure among the Austrian resistance editors, is at present a government officer in charge of various press matters in Vienna.



IN THE REPORT laid by Bernard M. Baruch before the UN Atomic Energy Commission, the United States comes fairly to grips with the problem of the atomic bomb.

There are two things we can do: prepare for an atomic war, or prepare to prevent an atomic war.

Let there be no mistake about it: if we prepare for atomic war we shall have atomic war. The lesson of history is unmistakable. Our only salvation—if salvation there is for us—lies in preventing atomic war. It would be criminal folly to think that we can rely on any of the outworn methods that have failed in the past; we must break new ground.

The United States proposals do that. Since every method of control which left weapons in the hands of nations has thus far failed, let the atomic weapon be taken out of the hands of the nations. It is as simple as that. Think of a feasible alternative if you can.

An international Atomic Authority would have the exclusive control of the deposits of fissionable material, the exclusive right to operate plants which handle fissionable material in the stages where it could easily be converted into atomic weapons. Its personnel would be recruited from the best scientists in every land; its plants would be so placed as to avoid undue concentration in any part of the world. The nations, under lease from the Authority, would handle the non-dangerous, the constructive, applications of atomic energy.

The mining of uranium deposits for any purpose, the operating of a plant outside the scope of the Authority's lease, interference with the Authority's personnel or inspections—these would *ipso facto* place the offending nation outside the law, and be an automatic warning light to the rest of the world. Even in that event, the danger would be no greater than that which we face right now; and the world would be at once placed on guard, and would have the means of retaliation or punishment. And, said Mr. Baruch: "There must be no veto to protect those who violate their solemn agreements not to develop or use atomic energy for destructive purposes. The bomb does not wait upon debate."

Completely ignoring the United States proposal, and omitting any reference to an international Atomic Authority, the plan put forth on June 19 by the Soviet representative fulfilled one useful purpose. By bluntly assuring that any attempt to abolish the unanimity rule "should be

resisted," the Russians cast the spotlight upon the question of maintaining the veto power. But by their complete opposition to Mr. Baruch's stand on this vital point, they have helped show the world where the real heart of the atom-control question lies.

## AMEND FEDERAL-AID BILL

THE AMERICAN SPIRIT of fair play is contending for another prize. Only the other day it came off victor when the President signed the National School Lunch Act giving government aid to provide better lunchroom meals in all the nation's schools for all the nation's children. It was an amended act which the President signed—amended to remove discrimination against millions of non-public school children.

Now the same spirit of fair play faces a second test. On May 17 the Senate Committee on Education and Labor reported favorably on the Hill-Thomas-Taft bill for Federal aid to education (S.181). This bill is so good in so many respects that dissent from it may seem disingenuous. Yet dissent has been entered by four members of the Senate Committee: Murray of Montana, Walsh of Massachusetts, Aiken of Vermont and Morse of Oregon.

The minority group is fully conscious of the altogether ingenious provisions of the bill which make it incomparably better than any of the many similar proposals considered in the past twenty-five years. Nevertheless the bill has a fatal weakness. It lacks sportsmanship. If enacted into law, "it will deprive children of the benefit of Federal legislation for no other reason than their failure to attend public schools." Not one, says the report, of the long series of subsidies given by the Federal Government to American institutions since the Civil War has been allocated on this unfair basis.

Ah, but Federal aid to church-controlled schools means union of Church and State!

We have considered this problem very carefully and we have concluded that such a fear is groundless. If it were not, we would be the first to oppose such aid. Another tenet of our democratic belief which we hold to be just as sacred and important as the separation of Church and State is that of freedom of religion. Such freedom should not be limited by imposing, in effect, certain penalties on those who faithfully carry out the practice and teachings of their religion. In this connection, also, we must recognize that the Government does not wish to supplant the duty of parents in the



instruction and training of their children, but merely wishes to supplement and facilitate it.

With the minority group, we propose that the Hill-Thomas-Taft bill "be amended so that its benefits may be extended to every child in America who is receiving a substandard education, regardless of whether the school attended is publicly or privately controlled." Such an amendment will not destroy the purposes of the bill; it will make them worth while, and it will win for the Senate another prize for fair play.

## DE-CONTROLLING PRICES

AS THE BATTLE for control of prices and against inflation reaches an anticlimax, it is not quite clear what the future will bring. Inflation is inevitable, now that ceilings on a number of basic items are removed or raised. That means more wage demands, with eventual loss of present gains.

In recent months all manner of special interests have been at work seeing that their particular product was de-controlled or its ceiling lifted. Many admitted the danger of inflation and the need for price control in general—but not for their own product. American consumer opinion has been overwhelmingly in favor of strict controls and vigorous prosecution of the black market. Thus the pressure of individual groups of producers upon Congress and OPA is responsible for disorderly removal of controls.

The philosophy of scarcity and artificially maintained prices is not dead in America. If those who have debunked OPA were ready to repudiate this philosophy, there would be more hope of the law of "supply and demand" having a chance to work to the public advantage. Actually, numerous industries have no intention of letting it work. Neither have certain labor groups, such as some of the building trades, any intention of allowing our economy to be really "free." It is futile to talk of abandoning government controls in favor of natural price adjustments so long as certain groups combine to regulate to their own advantage. It is this private administering of prices and not the attempts at government control—imperfect as they may have been—which invite scarcity and encourage inflation. Undoubtedly some government policies help along inflation, but there is no sense in talking of preventing it by "free markets" so long as industry, labor, agriculture and finance maintain restrictive practices.

## OUR MORAL LEADERSHIP

"YOUR FACES, we are told, are set toward the west," said the Pope on June 14, addressing a group of American officers returning home. "It is only natural, then, that they should express lively joy." But this very human sentiment, the Pope suggested, should not extinguish a profound realization that the moral leadership of the world is now the United States' privilege and duty.

That moral leadership has come to us, the Pope pointed out, not only through our "incomparable industrial power," but more through "the whole-souled, unselfish generosity of the people" and "wealth and power and virtue inevitably impose the heavy responsibility of leadership."

It is heartening to count up the facets of moral leadership this nation has illuminated. It is this country which primarily established the great principles of the Atlantic Charter. They may be, cynics will say, principles more honored in the breach than in the observance; but they are still the fundamental guiding principles of the peace. It is this country which primarily spearheaded the drive against famine, and which is still bearing the giant's portion of financial aid. Relief may have been bungled here and there and misused for political purposes, but our aid has been a magnificent outpouring of charity.

This heartening record, however, is at the same time a challenge we may shirk only to our shame. If we have given moral leadership in these and similar incipient ways, the road ahead is still wide open and arduous. The principles of the Atlantic Charter have still to find application in regard to Italy and Poland and Austria, to the Baltic nations, to the Ukraine; tenacious moral leadership, against all the allure and seduction of bargaining and jockeying, has to be maintained in the matters of refugees, relief, atomic energy, world freedom of the press and a host of other problems still to be hammered out on the anvil of free discussion among the United Nations.

To welch on this further moral leadership will be to betray the destiny that is ours in this world—one world, we hope; but at any rate a morally principled world in so far as we can shape it.

To no small degree, the shaping of a world under American moral leadership depends on the formation of our youth, and we think it no improper extension of the Pope's remarks if we apply them, not to American officers returning home, but to the American students looking out on the world. It is reported that the numbers of students taking courses in international relations and world problems is increasing noticeably; a number of

addresses to graduates in this month sacred to such speeches have urged that young men enter the field of politics.

That is a crucial need; the continuance of our moral leadership depends on the quality of the young men who will succeed the present laborers in the field; world problems will not be ended when the peace treaties are happily signed, and the ranks of leaders who can lead morally because they themselves have moral principles must be kept filled.

Herein lies the challenge to Catholic colleges and universities. Political life, which becomes wan and decays for lack of moral life-blood, needs truly Catholic men, men who realize the Pope's words that "Christ lives, Christ rules and the union and peace that men of good will are searching for can be found if they would rally in humble allegiance to His ennobling and imperishable standard."

If this country has the duty to provide moral leadership, the Church in this country bears a large share of the duty. If the Church shares the duty, it is precisely through her apostolate of education that she will help keep this country in the high place the Pope, who is not given to inconsiderate praise, has reminded us in ours.

## AID FOR THE HOMELESS

IT IS INEVITABLE, if regrettable, that the debate on displaced persons now occupying the UN Economic and Social Council should consume an unconscionable amount of time. We hope, however, that the melancholy prediction of the Belgian delegate will not prove true, that ten years from now the *New York Times* will carry an announcement that the Economic and Social Council opened its thirty-second ordinary session still deadlocked on the definition of a "refugee."

For while the debate continues, the problem of human suffering and rootlessness continues and even grows. Reports from the American zone in Germany reveal that over 25,000 additional D.P.'s have entered camps in the past three months; Mr. Lehman, former Director General of UNRRA, speaking in New York before the National Peace Conference, emphasized the fact "that unless something is done and done now, we may be confronted with a chaotic situation and untold suffering."

Faced with this grave reality, the Economic and Social Council is still trying to break down the intransigence of the Soviet delegate and those who scratch when Russia itches. At a recent session,

for example, Nikolai Feonov, the Russian delegate, stated that 300,000 Baltic exiles wished repatriation to the Soviet Union. This is a blatant falsehood: the most recent and reliable figures, first of all, give only 221,300 Balts outside of Soviet territory, and second, UNRRA estimates show that at least 129,000 of these are non-repatriable—they do *not* want to go back to Russian domination.

Into this atmosphere of debate and deadlock comes, however, a fresh breeze of clear-cut policy. Recently, at a press conference in New York, the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, of which the NCWC—War Relief Services is a prominent member, released its Report of the Survey Committee on Displaced Persons. The report is detailed, authoritative, eloquent in its backing of the great principles of human dignity and freedom and should be adopted, we are convinced, *in toto* and at once, by the Economic and Social Council.

The report demonstrates clearly the imperative need for the establishment on an intergovernmental agency, open to all nations, and closely linked with UN. This agency would have powers broad enough to deal with all types and groups of D.P.'s. The Economic and Social Council, to be sure, realizes the need of such an agency; the cogency of this report should stimulate the Council to immediate action.

The report takes a strong stand against any forced repatriation and even singles out for castigation that blot on our American record, the forced return of Russian "citizens" under the secret Yalta agreement. The report recommends the establishment of impartial civilian hearing-boards to assess charges against individuals of being "traitors, quislings and war criminals." It lashes out courageously at the present iniquitous system by which a single officer hears the charges, often through prejudiced interpreters.

A most striking element in the report is its definition of a "displaced person," for it includes "those ex-enemy nationals not displaced from their countries of nationality, refuge or residence, who have been persecuted by the enemy because of race, religion or activities in favor of the United Nations." The obvious meaning of this, of course, is to include the Jews resident in Germany and Austria. But quite clearly, too, whether the Committee realized or intended it, anti-nazi Catholics are included as well.

We strongly urge the thoughtful consideration of this excellent report on all the members of the UN Economic and Social Council and upon all in a position to influence public opinion.



# LITERATURE AND ART

## ELIOT AND MARITAIN

MICHAEL F. MOLONEY

IT WOULD BE INTERESTING to know how extensive the influence of Jacques Maritain has been upon the critical thinking of T. S. Eliot. Mr. Eliot himself has acknowledged in a general way his indebtedness to M. Maritain, including him—along with Charles Maurras, Julien Benda, Tristan Corbière, Jules Laforgue, Rémy de Gourmont, G. K. Chesterton, T. E. Hulme, Christopher Dawson, Irving Babbitt, Ezra Pound and Allen Tate—among the personalities who have contributed to his development. But the inclusiveness of the indebtedness has not, I think, been made clear.

Accordingly, the remarkable parallels between certain of Mr. Eliot's more significant critical dicta and M. Maritain's esthetic observations take on a speculative interest. If Mr. Eliot derives positively as well as generally from M. Maritain, we have a striking application of the philosopher's principles to the problems of a particular art. If, on the other hand, Mr. Eliot's opinions were arrived at independently, we are no less struck by the agreement between two outstanding thinkers whose starting points were radically divergent.

As long ago as 1931 Mr. Eliot in his *Thoughts After Lambeth*, declared that modern society's attempt "to form a civilized but non-Christian mentality" would fail. With the collapse of that experiment he foresaw the necessity for the preservation of "the Faith" through the ensuing dark ages that eventually civilization might be salvaged and the world saved "from suicide." In "Catholicism and International Order," from his 1932 volume, *Essays Ancient and Modern* (the single essays had been previously published), he declared his opposition to the Liberal thesis that "in a perfect world those who like golf could play golf and those who like religion could go to church" by insisting that "temporal values" can be assessed only "in the light of eternal values" and that ultimately Christianity formed the basis for the only workable world order. In "Religion and Literature," from the same volume, he pointed out the consequences of the impact of this necessary Christianity upon literary standards. He rejected the desirability of the simultaneous existence of two literatures, one for Christian, the other for pagan consumption. The Christian, to be sure, is obligated to maintain critical standards and criteria "over and above those applied by the rest of the world," but the great desideratum is "a literature which should be unconsciously, rather than deliberately and defiantly Christian."

In his insistence on the inevitability of the Christian leaven in any real solution of world issues, Eliot here (as elsewhere in his writings, notably in *The Idea of a Christian Society*) is substantially at one with M. Maritain. Still, since this affirmation is a common one, there is nothing in the agreement which argues for direct influence. But the statement dealing with Christianity and literature, in particular the declaration that the Christian tone should be unconscious rather than deliberate, recalls in a special way M. Maritain's thesis that the sphere of Art is autonomous and does not fall within the domain of Prudence. Art, M. Maritain wrote, almost three decades ago, is not to be considered human in the "end which is pursued," but only "in its method of working." It is, in other words, not a human

work, it is a work of man. At first sight these ideas seem startling, but sentimental objection is stilled by the magnificent logic of his conclusion:

The artist ought to be as objective as the man of learning, in the sense that his only thought for the spectator should be to give him something beautiful, or *well-made*, as the only thought the man of learning has for his hearer is to deliver him the truth. The cathedral builders had no sort of thesis in mind. They were, in Dulac's fine phrase, "men unconscious of themselves." They did not want to demonstrate the propriety of Christian dogma or to suggest by some artifice a *Christian emotion*. They even thought very much less about making a work of beauty than turning out good work. They had the Faith, and as they were, so did they work. Their achievement revealed God's truth, but without *doing it on purpose*, and because it was not done on purpose.

It is a commonplace among those who do not share Mr. Eliot's estimate of the significance of Christianity in the contemporary scene to assert that his prepossessions with religion have hampered him both as poet and as critic. To such of his peers Eliot's faith is a dead hand which stifles but does not inspire. Perhaps such a judgment is not without some basis in fact.

But if this be true, the fault lies not with Mr. Eliot nor with his faith but with history. It is much harder to be a Christian poet in a Christian age than a pagan poet in a pagan age. It is infinitely more difficult still to be a Christian poet in a pagan age. For the Christian poet in a pagan epoch must confront the tendencies of that epoch and in that confrontation become aware that he is a stranger in a strange land. He cannot, "unconscious of himself," work within the environs of a tradition. If Mr. Eliot's awareness of a mission is unduly prominent in his later criticism, and his conviction of desolation only slightly less insistent in *Four Quartets* than in the *Waste Land*, there is still abundant evidence, both in his critical and creative efforts, of his agreement with M. Maritain:

A Christian work would have the artist, as artist, free. . . . A Christian work would have the artist, as man, a saint.

There is another interesting parallel between the thought of Mr. Eliot and M. Maritain. Mr. Eliot, in one of the most brilliant critical achievements of our time, has called attention to the divorce within the modern artist of the sensory and intellectual powers. The cause, he says, was the transference of attention in the Renaissance from theology to science. Lucretius and Dante, the poet who interpreted Epicurus and the poet who interpreted St. Thomas Aquinas, were free from this dichotomy. Shakespeare, too, escapes it, along with his Elizabethan confrères. But with Marlowe, Shakespeare, Chapman, Middleton, Webster, Tourneur and Donne ends the period of English literature "when the intellect was immediately at the tips of the senses," when "sensation became word and word was sensation." The next period is that of Milton, and Milton and Dryden between them were responsible for the "dissociation of sensibility" in the seventeenth century. There was still "brain work" in the poetry of Crashaw, but he was one of the last exemplars of the ancient unity of creative powers. With the arrival of the nineteenth century the unification of sensibility was

gone. Only in an occasional passage in Keats and Shelley was there a striving toward such unification.

I am not certain that I always understand Mr. Eliot's drift in this matter. I am not even certain that his ideas are always consistent. But it is apparent whenever he comes to grips with this problem that he is immensely concerned with the lets and hindrances facing man in his search for artistic self-realization, and that he is immensely perturbed by the internal division of man's powers in such a quest. He is obsessed with the waste involved in the setting-up of false antitheses between theology and science (in the intellectual approach), between thought and sensation (in the artistic process), between magniloquence and wit (in poetic expression). He is aware that poetry is not a game. Its function, he has declared, is the "making . . . truth more fully real to us; it is the creation of a sensuous embodiment. It is the making of the Word Flesh, if we remember that for poetry there are various qualities of Word and various qualities of Flesh."

Mr. Eliot is concerned with the narrower problem of the poet, whereas M. Maritain is concerned more broadly with a theory of esthetic, but the critic's dicta take on added meaning against the background of the philosopher's reasoning. For M. Maritain, too, insists on the necessary unity of senses and intellect in the apprehension of beauty. Man does not come into the presence of beauty by way of the concept, but "by means of the intuition of the senses"; only "mind and sense combined" can produce "esthetic joy in the heart." One is aware in reading both men of a fine intellectual humility and a positive artistic sanity. They are agreed in their rejection of all "angelistic" pretensions which bring the creative powers of the artist to certain sterility. They are likewise agreed in the conviction that through the physical embodiment in which beauty is presented to man shines a *splendor formae* ("the Word," in Mr. Eliot's daring but justifiable metaphor). Such awareness alone can safeguard both art and artist from immersion in matter and its corollaries.

To the proponents of the Liberal, neo-pagan view, the pronouncements of Mr. Eliot and M. Maritain can but seem a "hooting of owls," though they may respect the one for his literary gifts and the other for his clarity and incisiveness. But to those who hold that the *Great Tradition* of the West alone can fully fructify the arts of our time, the utterances of both men will be studied with care since both have contributed notably to the reintegration of that tradition into modern life. Particularly significant is their interpretation of the work of Baudelaire. Here is a rock upon which, indeed, they might have foundered. Superficially, Baudelaire belonged with the enemy. Nevertheless, Mr. Eliot, the Christian poet, has made Baudelaire, the satanic poet, the subject of some of his most pregnant judgments and has found in him the confirmation of some of his own most deeply-felt convictions.

For him, Baudelaire is not interesting or significant because he is the poet of the dark and shining putrescence of evil. Nor is it the glamor of Baudelaire's polished and faultless form that arouses him. If I do not misinterpret his commentary on the great decadent, Mr. Eliot finds Baudelaire's importance in his anguished search "for a form of life." Beneath the appearances which the senses could savor, Baudelaire was striving to grasp the meaning of art—and of life. Like Mr. Eliot himself, Baudelaire was revolted by the superficialities of his time; in his case by "the world of *Napoléon le petit*" and by the "Saint-Sulpicerie of the day." In his reaction against that phosphorescent world he came to a "New Life" through "the recogni-

tion of the reality of Sin." Mr. Eliot's indictment of Baudelaire's era—"an age of bustle, programs, platforms, scientific progress, humanitarianism and revolutions which improved nothing, an age of progressive degradation"—has become famous. But his understanding of the tortured pilgrimage of the poet himself is the result of a critical intuition sharpened (may one think?) by passage through a somewhat analogous experience. And when he says of the author of the *Fleurs du Mal* that "his business was not to practise Christianity, but—what was much more important for his time—to assert its necessity," one sees through the shock of the paradox the unveiling of the ultimate barrenness of the age.

M. Maritain has written less extensively but no less pertinently of Baudelaire. It is to Baudelaire, he declares, that modern art owes "the recovery of the consciousness of the theological quality and the tyrannical spirituality of beauty," and he goes on to quote, from *L'Art romantique*, lines in which the poet speaks of the pleasures derived from poetry and music as foretastes of "what splendors shine behind the tomb."

It augurs well for the future vitality of Christian art that two of its most distinguished spokesmen in the twentieth century have come to such agreement upon so controversial a figure as Baudelaire. There is no denying that for three hundred years the Christian artist has worked under grave handicaps. Especially in the English-speaking world, a Manichean suspicion has severely hampered the artistic impulse. Now the eternal principles of Christian culture are being restated for a new age, and the proponents of a Christian esthetic have appeared as champions for a poet whose work was certainly colored by the fleshly shortcomings of his *milieu*. They have insisted validly that the great things in Baudelaire are not the sights and odors of the Earthly City in which he sometimes rested, but the anticipations of the Heavenly City toward which his intuitions drove him.

"The poet," Mr. Eliot has written, "must be rated in the end both by the philosophy he realizes in poetry and by the fulness and adequacy of the realization. For poetry . . . is not the assertion that something is true, but the making that truth more fully real to us. . . ." The modern world has cynically asked with Pilate: "What is Truth?" It is the glory of Baudelaire that he denied the crowning lie of modern art—its claim to be, in Maritain's words, "the ultimate end of man, his Bread and Wine, the consubstantial mirror of beatific Beauty." For that service to artistic truth, as well as for his ceaseless quest for Beauty, his countryman and his English disciple have signally honored him.

Modern art has suffered much from the disruption of man's internal economy, which both Mr. Eliot and M. Maritain have treated at greater length than has been indicated. That disruption was the Pandora's legacy of secular humanism. The conflict between Christian morality and the Renaissance effort to return to a pagan rationale—coming unfortunately at a moment when the Church was weakened from without and from within—has left an uneasiness in the presence of beauty among those who cling to the ancient values of our civilization. But the rejection, implicit or explicit, of beauty, as Francis Thompson noted with lush eloquence, is never without peril, for if she be deprived of her rightful place in her "Father's house," she is certain to find service with her "pagan seducer."

The history of the last seventy-five years, in particular, has been the history of the progressive deterioration of esthetic standards. On the highest level, Arnold's elevation of poetry to the status of a religion had at least the



charitable intent of providing humanity with a new faith. But already in Pater that faith had become a narrow and exclusive ritual, and Pater's followers, having exhausted the ritualistic artifice, turned away in despair. On the lowest level, a frank nihilism in epistemology and metaphysics rejected entirely the possibility of intellectual and spiritual, and hence esthetic, values. The latter attitude has dominated our century and continues to dominate it. It would perhaps be rash to think that its hour is almost over.

The Catholic thinker (because he, too, is of his age) will study this nihilism and its creative manifestations objectively, impersonally and unsentimentally. But because of the words of Mr. Eliot and M. Maritain, he will no longer feel that he is alone, nor will he think it an hallucination if he perceives a new light upon the hills.

## BOOKS

### LIFE OF A "LEADERS' LEADER"

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. By *Nathan Schachner*. D. Appleton-Century Co. \$4.

THE CAREER OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON is something made to order for the story teller and the dramatist; it is a fascinating tale even when poorly told, much more so when handled with the artistic skill and scholarly preparation which Mr. Schachner exhibits in this book. The life story of the penniless West Indian orphan who became one of the most important and influential leaders of the Revolutionary Era is crowded with drama, strife, contradiction, success and failure. A man of great abilities and glaring defects, his indomitable will and tireless energy broke down the obstacles of questionable birth, poverty, political and personal enmity and raised him to the highest rank of society and political leadership.

A young student at Kings College, New York, at the outbreak of the Revolution, he immediately threw himself into the struggle, soon becoming a captain in the State artillery. His first "break" came when Washington, noticing his ability, appointed him one of his personal aides, a position which brought him in frequent contact with the leaders of the Revolution, civil as well as military. Hamilton's undoubted talents favorably impressed soldiers and statesmen alike, and his reputation and influence were soon widespread.

A fortunate marriage with Betty Schuyler satisfied his social ambitions and won for him the backing of the powerful Schuyler family and the class of rich conservatives who formed their circle. Soon he was the recognized spokesman and a leader of this group, for his natural distaste for democracy and the mob, his belief that political and financial stability could only be secured by the rule of the rich and well-born, made him a sincere and effective champion of property and privilege. Inclination and ambition drew him irresistibly to politics; recognizing the weakness of the Articles of Confederation, he worked strenuously to arouse a demand for their revision and the establishment of a strong central Government. Although disapproving the Constitution as not going far enough in setting up a strong government, he vigorously supported it as a step in the right direction. The Federalist Papers, which he wrote in conjunction with Madison and Jay, were a weighty if not decisive influence in causing the adoption of the new Constitution.

Chosen by Washington as Secretary of the Treasury, it

was his task to lay the financial foundations of the new Government; to bring order and security out of the chaos of debt, repudiation and worthless paper currencies which were the legacy of the Revolution. Though he was widely known and respected as an expert in financial matters, the broad sweep and logical thoroughness of his fiscal program, together with his ruthless determination in carrying it through, staggered even his friends and supporters. Obsessed with the idea that the Government could only become strong and permanent if the rich had a vested interest in its stability, he introduced what was to remain for over a century the traditional attitude of government toward business—a combination of benevolent assistance to business and laissez-faire as to the administration of business.

It is upon his financial theories and policies that Hamilton's claim to fame and greatness chiefly rests; it was the success of these policies in bringing vast wealth to certain groups which led to the rise of the great Hamilton Myth, a myth sadly deflated by the events of the past twenty years. Another important element in shaping American political development—the party system—is also partly due to Hamilton. As a public official and as head of the Federalist Party, he accomplished much for which his countrymen should be grateful, but he was a dangerous man to entrust with power; his relations with the British Minister were downright treasonable and, during the war scare of 1798, he toyed with a scheme of western conquest very like the one Aaron Burr was later condemned for attempting.

Never a popular hero, he was a "leaders' leader"; his contempt for the mob and democracy was deep and genuine; all the force of his brilliant mind and dynamic energy was directed toward placing in the hands of the "wise and good" control of the social, political and economic destiny of the nation.

Such is the picture Mr. Schachner draws for us. Objective and impartial, master of a lively and smoothly flowing style, the author has produced a scholarly work as entertaining and thrilling as any novel. It is unfortunate that so important a book could not rate a more artistic format and a better grade of paper.

F. J. GALLAGHER

### THE WORLD HIS AT 33

ALEXANDER OF MACEDON: THE JOURNEY TO WORLD'S END. By *Harold Lamb*. Doubleday & Co. \$3.50

HAROLD LAMB has the happy faculty of condensing the facts of a full life, in a style befitting his subject, into a book of reasonable length, without annoying citation of authority (though painstaking research is evident), and yet of achieving a fascinating, novel-like result. Thus in appropriate settings he gave us *Genghis Khan* and *Tamerlane*; so he now presents *Alexander of Macedon*.

The publishers call it a biographical narrative. The book, however designated, is an authoritative and entertaining tale of the travels of that remarkable Macedonian, as well as a careful study of the political and religious thought of his generation. And it brings up to date all of the popular notions about Alexander, accepting the Bucephalus tale, rejecting, for the most part, the most-often-told version of the knot of Gordium, and so on.

Alexander, from the viewpoint of the author (who traveled and wrote "the greater part of this book" in Asia during the recent war), was a man rightly set apart from his fellows. This was known instinctively to his soldiers, and even to the enemy he fought; his intimates and his military staff, whatever they themselves believed, knew of



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this almost intuitive reaction of other men. So too did Alexander, who probably believed the best of himself. The thread of this narrative, binding together the entire book, is this implicit identification by other men of Alexander with Zeus and Mount Olympus. The style of Harold Lamb is wonderfully adapted to this theme, the unusual, clipped sentences and paragraphs he employs giving the impression of a faithful translation of a Greek classic. It is almost as though he were writing as a contemporary of Ptolemy or Plutarch.

The Macedonian's army lieutenants, surpassing him by far in experience, fade away beneath his confident assumption of leadership, some ending in oblivion and some in death (in battle or by incurring the mad displeasure of their leader). He alone rides almost immune from mortal fate—and he rides alone. But his self-accepted omnipotence and omniscience are too much responsibility for an actually mortal mind to bear and, just when he seems to have conquered all men and benevolently to have established a rule over almost all the then known world, he proved his mortality by dying from malaria. And even before that his mind, worn out by the overwhelming strain of his awful responsibility, had been visibly sapped—all this between the ages of 20 and 33. Few men have ever lived who could successfully match wits with an Aristotle and a Demosthenes (he did it with both) and at the same time succeed to the mantles of a practical, successful military captain and of a political genius. He would never have permitted a defeated Germany to be divided into four unconnected segments economically incapable of self-sufficient existence. Even more—and this Mr. Lamb shows clearly to be the great secret of Alexander's political success—he would never have considered (he never did) forcing his own people's ideologies, political, social or even religious, upon the nations he conquered.

Flavius Arrianus wrote about Alexander that "more has been written about him than about any other man, yet with less agreement." Despite the spate which has continued until today, *Alexander of Macedon* is a very satisfactory addition to the lore of that legendary figure.

J. NICHOLAS SHRIVER, JR.

## DRAMA AS MORAL FORCE

THE PLAYWRIGHT AS THINKER. By Eric Bentley.  
Reynal and Hitchcock. \$3

MANY READERS, especially those impressed by the statement in the dust-jacket blurb that Mr. Bentley is not yet thirty years old, will have a hard time trying to decide whether the author of this volume is a precocious young man making a show of his eclectic learning, or a serious student of drama whose judgment is somewhat in advance of his years. His ideas so frequently coincide with my own prejudices that I incline toward the latter decision.

Mr. Bentley, unlike the majority of well-known contemporary commentators on the stage, thinks in terms of drama rather than in terms of theatre. He believes drama is an important moral and esthetic force in civilization and that the chief function of the theatre is to serve as a purveyor of drama. Mr. Bentley probably would sniff at the word purveyor, with its commercial flavor, insisting that the chief function of the theatre is to provide an auditorium where an audience can be edified by the playwright's art. Not that he is the least naive or uninformed when confronted with the stock arguments of the apologists of the commercial



theatre. He understands their point of view, and his answers are invariably sensible and frequently devastating.

While he is impatient with the Max Reinhardts, Gordon Craigs and others who exalt theatre above drama, Mr. Bentley is not seriously interested in the rivalry among the several theatrical arts. Believing that drama is the paramount art, he is confident that it will survive even if it is dispossessed from the stage and banished to the library. History, of course, is on his side. Drama has already survived a long exile in the library, from which it was liberated by medieval priests.

Every great playwright, Mr. Bentley holds, is a thinker who interprets the spirit of his time. "Occidental drama," he declares, "has almost never rid itself of its admonitory tone and its salvationist spirit." The first-rate playwright, in other words, is not only a creative artist but also a moral monitor.

Mr. Bentley is less successful in clarifying his principles than in stating them. In a rather lengthy discussion of tragedy, he skirts the periphery of the subject without once touching its core. From his analyses of the works of Strindberg, Ibsen and Shaw, one gets the impression that they were more important as technicians than as thinkers, and that the ideas they contributed to spiritual and social problems were less significant than the thought they devoted to perfecting their art. This comes close to asserting that life exists for art, which is not the author's intention. Or is it?

The sincere playwright, in Mr. Bentley's opinion, will never thrive in the commercial theatre. He would abandon Broadway to the promoters of the flea circus and the producers of such slick articles as *Oklahoma!*, or give it back to the Indians. Significant and imaginative drama, he believes, must find a home in the college theatre, the little theatre and the people's theatre; otherwise drama will have to retire to the underground of the writing arts—the library shelf.

It is rather unlikely that Mr. Bentley's style, on the evidence of this volume, will ever be referred to as "distinguished." But he is easy to read, with humor and good sense mixed in every other sentence, and he has a way of restating accepted facts without falling into platitude. If his opinions are not always original, they are invariably interesting. Even those readers who do not share his enthusiasms will not find him dull.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

THUS FAR AND NO FURTHER. By Rumer Godden.  
Little, Brown and Co. \$3

LONG BEFORE "SHANGRI-LA" became a household word, the name of Tibet carried with it the magic of strangeness, mystery and fascination. In such a setting the author, her two children and their governess, with the help of numerous native servants, spend a winter on a tea garden at Chinglam, "an island surrounded by tea." The magic pervades these notes by which Miss Godden hopes to distil the essence of that winter. When questioned by a friend as to what she proposed to do in this lonely house eighteen miles from Darjeeling, the author replied: "Just live." It is the reader's pleasure to discover what constitutes living for her. She becomes acquainted with her little girls, plants a garden, works at her writing, serves as human-relations expert for the servants, wrestles with the novel aspects of shopping, wondering all the while why she had been so slow to recognize the futility of the needless complications thrown in the path of "just living."

The publisher's advertising is addressed to Rumer Godden's faithful readers, assuring them of continued delight. Speaking as one but recently introduced, I can vouch for

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delight in her awareness, her sensitive perception and her ability to convey in the minimum of words impressions of the vastness of mountain spaces, the delicacy of a cosmos, a sky that is cornflower blue, the strange beauty of a six-inch butterfly, the flashing insights of children, the currents of caste feeling in the servants, or the highlights of a native celebration. She records a few reflections and conclusions that may cause the reader to indulge in imaginary argument—such a satisfactory kind, since one always comes off best!

This is a book to be sipped and savored like the tea which is part of its essence. The twenty-six pencil drawings by Tontyn Hopmann are a joy in themselves, successfully portraying landscapes, tea-blossoms or children. They are an integral part of the book; text and illustrations blend to achieve that distillation for remembrance which the author sought to capture.

MARY STACK MCNIFF

THIS IS MY AMERICA. *Poems from the Washington Post, Selected and Arranged by Kenton Kilmer.* The Washington Post. \$2.50

AT THE LUNCHEON of the memorable congress of poetry convened by the Catholic Poetry Society of America, Mr. Geoffrey Parsons read a fascinating paper recounting his experiences through the years as editor of the New York *Herald Tribune's* poetry. A minority of the paper's readers supported the printing of poems; but it was a militant, articulate, intelligent minority.

In this present book, Mr. Kenton Kilmer, who does the same kind of work for the *Washington Post*, gives us a cross-section of the verses which have appeared on its editorial page since December, 1940. It is poetry of the people, for the people, by the people, poetry of roots in the ground and roots in the heart, of grass, sunsets, children, tears, spring, laughter; but with its popular simplicity it combines technical dexterity of no mean order. There are well-known poets among the contributors; but even the lesser singers acquit themselves nobly and prove, by their numbers, that even in this clamorous day of technology the ache and appetite of beauty still reside in the heart of man.

Mr. Kilmer has done well in arranging and cataloging the poems under headings derived from a poetic salute to America, which is the title poem of the volume. He is to be congratulated on establishing and maintaining standards of critical excellence. It would be unfair and unwise to cite favorites, but this book of poetry on "sweet, simple things, and cares of day and night," to quote one of its lines, is recommended to all.

WILLIAM A. DONAGHY

FROM A POLITICAL DIARY: RUSSIA, THE UKRAINE AND AMERICA, 1905-1945. By Arnold Margolin. Columbia University Press. \$3

THIS IS A DETAILED ACCOUNT of the author's experiences as an active participant in both the Russian and Ukrainian Revolutions in 1917 and of his subsequent endeavors in the United States. The most rewarding portion concerns his assignment with the Ukrainian Diplomatic Mission to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. He depicts and clarifies the forces which prohibited the principles of national self-determination from being applied to the Ukraine, with special attention devoted to Wilson's Secretary of State, Lansing, who is shown to have been totally ignorant of existing realities. Deprived of aid from the West, the young Ukrainian republic quickly succumbed to the invading Polish, White and Red Russian Armies. Mr. Margolin ironically points out that Dmitro Manuilsky, present Soviet Ukraine representative to the United Nations, was



at that time the Russian peace emissary to the Ukrainian national government in Kiev.

Since 1922 the author has lectured and written on Russian, Ukrainian, Jewish and East European affairs in general in the United States. Reproduced in full are his memoranda sent to the East European Division of the State Department.

With the United States again a decisive factor in the policy-making councils of Europe, Mr. Margolin's book will be a revealing source of information to our diplomatic corps. It is important because it deals with the Ukraine, a country of bitter controversy and disputes, one which, politically speaking, is representative of *terrae incognitae* under the iron rule of the rising and enslaving forces of Bolshevism.

WALTER DUSHNYCK

**SILENT IS THE VISTULA.** By Irena Orska; translated from the Polish by Marta Erdman. Longmans, Green and Co. \$3

THIS STORY OF THE WARSAW UPRISING was written primarily for those whose memory of their capital city is a precious heritage now that Warsaw is prostrate. The story is told us by Madame Irena Orska, who with her thirteen-year-old daughter, Barbarka, lived and fought and suffered with her compatriots in the death throes of the city. Death throes they were, as the volume so pathetically pictures the agony, the last struggles in the unequal contest between the brave defenders and the brutal Nazi campaign of extermination.

The narrative opens with a picture of peace and an atmosphere of prayer, for the heroine author is hurrying not to be late for Holy Mass that morning of mornings. It was only in prayer that she and her companions could have found the courage to carry on in the appalling days ahead. Only spiritual preparation could have steeled her to part with her daughter for a dangerous while at the climax of the work of destruction, not in hysterics, but while pressing a silver medallion of the Blessed Mother into her palm. They met again, without tears, and finally found refuge and safety. Meanwhile, each page bears witness to the fearless, almost gay spirit of the people of Warsaw. There are incidents of charity more touching and forgetful of self than even our hospitals dream of; of courage that even the boys of first fighting lines in the attack do not surpass. There is a generous sprinkling of real humor in an atmosphere not of hate, but still of the grim indifference to death in the battle for life.

Coming as this volume does on the top of so many journalistic effusions from our press, from writers who draw on the notes dictated to them by others or from observers who look only through colored glasses, this touching description from an actual participant in the tragedy carries the conviction that we are listening to the truth. There are no long-drawn descriptions that tire. The bulk of the volume is just easy conversation, as if we were present at the scenes. Madame Orska has also found a fine pen in Marta Erdman to translate into a pleasing, simple English style the work which she knew would first be read by her own people in their own language.

JOSEPH ROUBIK

MICHAEL F. MOLONEY is assistant professor of English at Marquette University, Milwaukee.

J. NICHOLAS SHRIVER, JR., with degrees from Georgetown University, has recently returned from duty on the Judge Advocate General's staff.



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## THEATRE

WHAT IS GOOD ACTING? In every well-made play, according to the Scribe theory of drama, there is an obligatory scene—a bit of action without which the story will be unsatisfying, fail to make sense. A similar convention is observed by dramatic critics, the camp-followers of the theatre. It has become a custom that every review must mention the quality of the acting. Hence, every reviewer, although he may feel like a donkey while performing the chore, always includes in his comment on a production a few sentences to the effect that: "Marigold Dabney is splendid in the leading role, while Beauregard Tinsler, her opposite in the cast, is persuasive as a playboy in love. John Jenkins, the villain, is not convincingly villainous."

I often wonder, while reading the glib comment of reviewers, just what are the standards which differentiate good acting from bad. No one I have ever talked with on the subject has been able to tell. They usually come up with such answers as "the way Helen Hayes interprets a character," or "like Maurice Evans in *Hamlet*," or "putting pep in a part, like Muriel Smith in *Carmen Jones*." Such replies, of course, are mere snap judgments, reflections of phrases read in reviews and subsequently lying dormant in the speaker's unconscious mind.

I have come to the conclusion that nobody really knows what good acting is except motion-picture fans. Picture addicts have a simple and rigid set of histrionic values which are applicable when one attempts to rate the performances of round actors. All that film habitués ask of Dorothy Lamour, Carole Landis, Rita Hayworth, Humphrey Bogart, Van Johnson and Errol Flynn is that they display their beautiful feminine or handsome masculine torsos and faces through most of a featured film. That is what film fans call good acting.

Patrons of the stage are most discriminating. They demand more than pulchritude of their idols. They expect an actor to discard his personality, and become a facsimile of a character created by a playwright. But how does a reviewer, or a casual occupant of an orchestra seat, know when an actor dissolves his personality in his role and makes it real as life?

The essential of acting, like that of any other art, is the illusion of reality. When Barbara Bel Geddes, in *Deep Are the Roots*, simulated the emotions of a white woman in love with a Negro, her performance was instantly recognized as great acting by all who saw it. Montgomery Clift's mental fumbling as a soldier with battle fatigue, in *Foxhole in The Parlor*, was obviously a fine interpretation of the role. Mr. Clift and Miss Bel Geddes were required to play characters foreign to their own, in situations which neither was ever likely to encounter personally, and each came up with a brilliant success.

In most instances it is not necessary for an actor to depart too far from his own personality to make a role plausible. A young woman of middle-class background, cast as a suburban matron, apparently has all the social equipment demanded by the part. All she has to do, it would appear, is to memorize her lines and cues. But is the art of acting, in most instances, really as simply as that? Obviously not. Various other factors are involved, numerous tricks of the trade have to be learned. The most important element of the art, perhaps, is overcoming self-consciousness. It is well known that a man will walk across a room straight as a string—unless he is trying to walk on a string.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS



## FILMS

**ANNA AND THE KING OF SIAM.** Margaret Landon's biography of an English school teacher who brought a militant mind to Siam during the last century has become a distinguished film. The locale is strange enough to have been invented but, unlike the usual product of Hollywood's fevered imagination, it satisfies both curiosity and intelligence. The opening of the Siamese door to Western ideas, even to so small a degree as to admit a foreign governess, is made to seem important to history at the same time that it is beguiling the audience. The widowed teacher is engaged to instruct the crown prince and the numerous children of the court, but the king soon discovers that indignation and democratic reform, not in the prescribed curriculum, are part of the tutor's baggage. A struggle for the youthful mind follows, in which the heroine loses some points but wields an influence which overcomes the king himself on his deathbed. John Cromwell has directed the film in a leisurely way, but the slow pace is in keeping with the maturing of the democratic idea in Oriental minds and provides opportunities for atmospheric detail, for spiritual contrast and for a quiet humor to offset the grim passages. Irene Dunne is beautifully assured in the chief role, with Rex Harrison playing her ideological foil admirably. Linda Darnell and Leo J. Cobb are also fine in a top-bracket production for the family. (*Twentieth Century-Fox*)

**INSIDE JOB.** There seems to be an unwritten production rule governing crime stories which demands that sin be treated realistically, and repentance—if any—be made ridiculous. In this reading of the familiar material, a flush of sentimentality passes for moral compensation. An ex-convict, who marries with a firm purpose of reform, is lured by an old associate into a planned robbery. But, after enlisting the aid of his wife, he undertakes the job on his own and then allows unsuspected tenderness for an innocent bystander to make possible their arrest. There is a pat, manufactured look about the plot which is not relieved by Jean Yarbrough's heavy-handed direction, and an ordinarily good cast, including Preston Foster, Ann Rutherford and Alan Curtis, suffers from the obvious. In spite of its moral intentions, this is routine adult entertainment. (*Universal*)

**THE RUNAROUND.** This is entertainment for audiences who believe that if a moving picture moves, it has fulfilled the requirements of the medium. It is a scuffling story in which two private detectives, who are second in number only to psychiatrists on the current screen, compete for the rewards of returning a millionaire's runaway daughter. The successful operative overtakes the quarry, only to find that he has been part of a ruse engineered by the frolicsome father to become better acquainted with his future son-in-law. The action is handled energetically by Charles Lamont, with Ella Raines, Rod Cameron and Frank McHugh in the cast. Lightweight diversion for grown-ups. (*Universal*)

**AVALANCHE.** A backdrop of snow-covered mountains and good camera work carry off production honors in this melodrama. Treasury agents journey to Utah to question a suspected tax-evader, and find him apparently dead. But that would be too simple a solution for the wonderfully confused plot, and the matter of true identity catches up with the culprit just before the avalanche. Bruce Cabot and Roscoe Karns are equal to the slight demands of the story, and Irving Allen's direction is on the family thriller level. (PRC)

THOMAS J. FITZMORRIS

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## PARADE

YEARS AGO, the poet Gray described cool, sequester'd vales of life populated by folks who kept the even tenor of their way. . . . One looking over the news of the day is forced to wonder what became of these vales. . . . The news of the week mirrors instead the strife of madding crowds and once sober wishes now gone astray. . . . Ruffling the even tenor of life were many things, not least among them being meat and butter. . . . Because she could not secure meat for her husband's dinner, a young Illinois housewife tossed aside the even tenor of her ways and jumped into the Chicago River. She was rescued. . . . In Pennsylvania, a long butter line refused to give way to firemen trying to battle a blaze. Police had to shove the line to the other side of the street. When the fire was extinguished, the line, each member still in his hard-won place, filed back to its original location. . . . Courts also were hard pressed. . . . In Chicago, a woman sued a department store because of injuries sustained when an elephant broke loose in the store while she was shopping in it. . . . In Pennsylvania a wife and her husband entered suit against a hairdresser, the wife declaring: "After I got a permanent, my hair broke off so that it was only an inch long all over my head." For her broken hair, she asked \$10,000, the husband petitioning for an additional \$5,000 to recompense him for loss of his wife's "society, companionship and comfort." . . . Disharmony strode into the field of education. . . . During a Michigan graduation ceremony, an irate mother marched to the stage, punched the lady school principal in the nose, struck her six times with a handbag while students and teachers looked on in open-mouthed amazement. This expression of the mother's displeasure was occasioned by the omission of her daughter from the class photograph. . . . Even matrimony featured pitfalls. . . . After a New York wedding, the bride's father, unaware that he was standing on a line of tin cans attached to the bridal car, went down for the count when the auto started. . . . Augmenting the spreading feeling of instability were unflinching attitudes. A boy in the Northwest, whose fireman father objected to the company he kept, set grass fires to lure his parent away from the haunts he frequented with the undesirable companions.

Though nothing reminiscent of 'cool, sequester'd vales' appeared in the news, certain events did recall other sentiments of the poet Gray. . . . In a cemetery near New Orleans lie hundreds of unknown dead in graves marked with numbers instead of names. . . . Last week an unidentified young man, killed in an accident, was buried in this cemetery. He lies there now as Number 6568, still and silent, caring no longer for the boast of heraldry, the pomp of pow'r and all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave. . . . Recently in New England, charitable people purchased a headstone for an unidentified young girl who was killed in a circus fire. The headstone reads: "Little Miss 1565." . . . Will Mr. 6568 and Miss 1565 be just numbers forever? . . . In the centuries ahead, curfews will continue tolling the knell of parting day, lowing herds winding slowly o'er the leas, ploughmen homeward plodding their weary way, and Mr. 6568 and Miss 1565 resting as mere numbers in their graves. . . . But not forever will the two remain unidentified. . . . Some day in the future the inevitable hour will come, the hour for the great trumpet-blast calling all men, the known and the unknown, to Judgment. . . . Young Mr. 6568, young Miss 1565 will rise from the dead, and be identified, never again through all eternity to be mere numbers.

JOHN A. TOOMEY



## CORRESPONDENCE

### RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS IN GERMANY

EDITOR: I have just finished reading your article "Why We Are Losing German Youth." My most sincere congratulations for this excellent piece of work; you hit the nail on the head. Why is it necessary to abolish denominational schools where they are traditionally established? I think, too, that sometimes Catholic youth leaders were not dealt with in the right way.

I have just received a letter from an old friend of mine, G. S., who before the war was one of the leading collaborators of the Catholic Youth Organization. During the war he participated in activities, which, if they had been discovered by the Nazis, would have cost him his life. He was, for instance, a member of an illegal organization helping the Jews. He was a close friend of Father Alfred Delp, S.J., who was executed by hanging because he was close to some of the conspirators who tried to overthrow Hitler on July 20, 1944. Nevertheless, due to the misinterpretation of a schematic rule, he was arrested by American authorities. Despite the fact that a few days after his arrest, the interrogating captain said about him: "Deeply rooted in the Catholic anti-Nazi movement, he is not only a genuine anti-fascist but even an anti-militarist," he was kept for forty-four weeks in confinement. For weeks he had no permission to write to his wife and, at the end of his confinement, he weighed only ninety pounds. Desperate attempts of friends to liberate him by pointing out that he belonged to the reliable anti-Nazis were of no avail. When G. S. was arrested, a letter of Father Delp, which this heroic Jesuit had written to him shortly before he was executed, was taken away from him. Neither this letter nor other manuscripts were returned to him when he was released.

This case of G. S. is unfortunately not an exceptional case. Another leader of the Catholic Youth Movement, J. G., was arrested together with his friend and has not yet been released. During all the years of the Nazi regime he closely collaborated in the youth work with Catholic authorities. This behavior contrasts tragically with the mildness of the behavior in other cases, where pro-Nazi Germans are used as advisors by military authorities.

It will also be of interest to you to hear that the leader of the Catholic Youth Organization, Monsignor Wolker, is trying to reorganize his associations in Altenberg, in the neighborhood of Cologne. The Catholic Youth House in Düsseldorf was destroyed during the aerial attacks. He and his collaborator, Maasen, have not yet secured the necessary permissions for the publication and circulation in all zones of the excellent youth weekly *Michael*, which was suppressed by the Nazi regime. The hope may be expressed that these permissions may be given very soon. Another Catholic publication, *Frankfurter Hefte*, was started in April, 1946. The editors, Walter Dirks and Eugen Kogon, were very well known among young Catholics.

Eugen Kogon, who spent seven years in a concentration camp, discusses in a very profound way the question of German responsibility. Walter Dirks writes about the Christian's duties in the coming Germany. Other Catholic publications are in preparation. I hear that Herder will soon resume publication of the Jesuit monthly, *Stimmen Der Zeit*, and preparations are on the way again to publish *Hochland*, whose founder, Karl Muth, died during the war.

Notre Dame, Ind.

WALDEMAR GURIAN

### THE LESSON OF PALESTINE

EDITOR: Cool and reasoned logic, mathematically applied, may solve a variety of problems. But unfortunately such logic cannot take into consideration the intangibles that guide human destiny. Father William J. Gibbons has attempted to apply cool logic to the Problem of Palestine. He does not make any attempt to ascertain and understand the human imponderables of the situation.

Let us analyze Father Gibbons' premise. He quotes from the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry to point out that there is "no hope of substantial assistance in finding homes for Jews wishing to or impelled to leave Europe." The nations then, must open their doors to solve "this problem in human rights." He avers: "A permanent solution awaits the eradication of vicious anti-Semitic ideas—a thing which only the formation of strong public opinion and greater economic security can accomplish." Why should Jews alone have to wait for the millennium?

Father Gibbons and the Inquiry Committee accept as a *fait accompli* the dismemberment of Palestine by the British. They envision Palestine as the territory west of the Jordan River, whereon five percent of the remaining land-Jews are permitted to settle and bring life to the barren wilderness. They, with the British Foreign Office, thus neglect to point out that the Mandate for Palestine, granted Britain by the League of Nations *at the invitation of the Hebrew people*, included all of what is now called Trans-jordan. They pass over the fact that the setting-up of Trans-jordan as an independent nation violated not only the Mandate but also a treaty with the United States (The Anglo-American Convention of 1924) and the UN (Art. 80) Charter.

The tragic situation of the Hebrew people of Europe is not alone the result of Nazi oppression. The doors of Palestine were shut tight by the British in direct violation of their solemn obligation under the mandate and in defiance of the common rules of humanity.

Few persons today envision a Jewish Palestine with a favored racial group granting to others as a boon the rights guaranteed by citizenship. The trend of political thinking is toward an independent Palestine, a republic with equal rights for all.

Human beings are entitled to the right of self-determination. The Jewish people of Europe should immediately be given the opportunity to determine their future. Palestine citizenship must be granted those Hebrews who so opt, *and who renounce all other allegiances*. Then, and only then, can the free and independent Republic of Palestine be set up, free from the restrictions of Empire and power politics.

Today, all over Europe, homeless and unwanted Hebrews, instilled by some divine inspiration, are on the move by the thousands toward the gates of Palestine. They do not wait upon reports or the specious arguments of diplomats schooled in the tactics of delay.

Examine all of the facts in the presence of each other. A new chapter is being written to the Testament of the Ages. The clamor of the Hebrew people for Palestine is not extreme nationalism but, in fact, the greatest and most potent answer to the selfish and dangerous nationalism and imperialism that today makes the Middle East the powder keg of the world.

New York, N. Y.

GABRIEL A. WECHSLER

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## THE WORD

THE THIRD SUNDAY AFTER PENTECOST, falling within the Octave of the Sacred Heart, provides the devout with inexhaustible material for meditation. The gospel is the exquisite story of the shepherd leaving the ninety-nine sheep in safety to go after the wanderer far from the fold, alone, afraid.

It drives home to us Christ's gentle, persistent pursuit of the errant soul; and the thrifty woman combing her house for the lost drachma reinforces the point. When the sheep and the drachma are recovered, there is rejoicing; so there is in heaven when the sinner returns.

Occasion of the parables was the criticism of the Pharisees, who constantly reproached Christ for consorting with sinners. Christ called on Levi the publican (who was to become Saint Matthew), and the grateful neophyte gave Him a dinner. The Pharisees were shocked. "Why does your Master eat and drink with publicans and sinners?" they asked the disciples, and Christ Himself replied that it was not the well but the sick who were in need of the physician (Mark 2:15-17).

When Simon the Pharisee invited Christ to dine, it was less an overture of friendship than a social ambush; the hostile host neglected the hospitable amenities; he and his friends were horrified when the sinful woman burst into their righteous midst; they stiffened in disdain, drew their chaste cloaks about them lest they be contaminated. Christ forgave the sinner "because she has loved much" (Luke 7:36-48).

In such parables and incidents was Christ's Heart disclosed here on earth. Centuries later, when Jansenism tried to make of God not a Father to be loved so much as a fearsome Judge, the Sacred Heart again revealed Itself, a sign for our times, says Leo XIII, comparable to Constantine's cruciform pledge of ultimate victory.

But this revelation is not a marvel to be gaped at and forgotten; it is a call to grimly practical action which Pius XI specifies as consecration and reparation, the former professing our union with Christ, the latter producing it. The obligation of reparation lies on all of us who are sinners for, as Pius teaches, "every sin must be said to renew in a certain way the Passion of Our Lord, 'crucifying again to themselves the Son of God and making Him a mockery'" (Heb. 6:6). Again, in love of Christ and our neighbor, we should feel the generous impulse to atone for the countless sins whereby daily men flout the Divine Majesty.

Our expiation, of course, derives all its value from the bloody Sacrifice of Calvary, perpetually, bloodlessly renewed in the Mass. Christ took away the decree against us "fastening it to the Cross" (Col 2:14); "He bore our sins in His Body on the tree" (1 Peter 2:24). But God has willed that we can and should add our acts of satisfaction to Christ's superabundant redemption, "bearing around in our body the dying of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may be made manifest in our bodily frame" (2 Cor. 4:10).

Ours is a pleasure-loving day, and on its sheltered ear an angular word like "penance" falls harshly. Yet the soul with any greatness cannot turn from Jesus saying: "Behold this Heart which has loved men so much . . . In return . . . It finds ingratitude . . . forgetfulness, indifference, outrages." One cannot stand bored in Gethsemane while Christ suffers, or yawn on Calvary. One must respond, Pius pleads, to "the lament of the Divine Victim, 'What profit is there in My Blood?'" (Ps. 19:10). Next Tuesday is the Feast of the Precious Blood spilled to the last drop for us. So much did Christ do to prove His love for us. What in turn have we done to show our love for Him? WILLIAM A. DONAGHY



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